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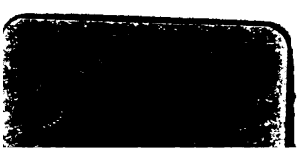

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ANCIENT AND MODERN;

FROM

THE EARLIEST RECORDS OF TIME,

TO

THE GENERAL PEACE OF 1801.

IN TWENTY-FIVE VOLUMES.

BY WILLIAM MAVOR, L. L. D.

VICAR OF HURLEY IN BERKSHIRE, AND CHAPLAIN TO THE EARL OF DUMFRIES.

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. . . . . .

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THE

HISTORY

OF

VARIOUS MODERN

AFRICAN NATIONS.

BY WILLIAM MAVOR, L. L. D.

VICAR OF HURLEY IN BERKSHIRE, CHAPLAIN TO THE EARL OF DUMFRIES,
AUTHOR OF THE BRITISH NEPOS, &c. &c.

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CHARLES ABBOT,

SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, &c. &c.

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OF

MODERN UNIVERSAL HISTORY

IS,

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INSCRIBED,

BY

HIS MOST FAITHFUL

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THE EDITOR.

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MODERN HISTORY.

HISTORY OF AFRICA, CONTINUED.

CHAPTER VIII.

Lower Guinea: comprehending Mataman, Benguela, Congo, Angola, Loango, Anziko, Fungeno, Biafar, and Calbaria.

LOWER GUINEA, including the several extensive countries or empires of Mataman, Benguela, Congo, Angola, Loango, Anziko, Fungeno, Biafar, and Calbaria, is comprehended between sixteen degrees of south, and four degrees and thirty minutes of north latitude; and is about twelve hundred miles in length, and scarcely two hundred in breadth. This vast tract of country is bounded by Benin and Nigritia on the north; by the unknown parts of Africa on the east and south; and by the Athantic Ocean on the west. As these regions are extremely inimical to health, and destitute of incentives to avarice, they have been in general but little explored, and are imperfectly described. But pursuing truth through the mazes and the intricacies of fiction, we shall endeavour to give our readers as concise and authentic an account of each division, as can reasonably be expected.

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SECTION I.

Mataman and Benguela.

MATAMAN, or Matapan, is an arid and extensive waste, destitute of cities, and almost devoid of inhabitants; and is bounded by Benguela on the north, and by the ocean on the west. The descriptions which have been given of this country are exceedingly confused, fabulous, and ridiculous. In our researches after truth, we are surfeited with fictions, and disgusted with stories of nations of Amazons and Cannibals, who wage perpetual war with each other, and in whose shambles the limbs of the captives are exposed to sale; who bury their children alive, and recruit their armies with the stoutest of their captives. The Portuguese writers are the only persons that have pretended to describe this country; and, as no European settlements have been made in this barbarous and unpromising district, it is in vain that we expect relations which have the smallest appearance of truth or probability.

The kingdom of Benguela is bounded by Angola on the north; by Mataman on the south; and by the ocean on the west. The principal rivers in this district are the Longo or Morano, the Nica, the Catonbella, the Gubororo, the Farsa, the Cutembo, and the great river Cuneni; all of which direct their courses from east to west. There is no climate more unfavourable to European constitutions in any part of the habitable globe; the countenances of the natives always appear wan and pale; and they

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have a greater resemblance to spectres than to human beings. Their voice is so broken and irregular, that one might easily be led to suppose they voluntarily confined their breath between their teeth. The stagnant waters, which are exposed to the action of the scorching sun, soon become putrid, and the earth being infected, poisons its own productions. The whole coast, however, is not subject to the same evils; but the inhabitants of those countries, which suffer under these calamities, are obliged to bring from other districts whatever they eat or drink.

The natives bind the skins of wild beasts round their waists, and wear rows of beads about their necks. Their usual weapons of defence and warfare are darts headed with iron, bows, and arrows. Their women have copper collars about their neck; their arms and legs are decorated with bells and bracelets made of the same metal; and their waists are covered with a kind of cloth, which is fabricated of the bark of the insandic tree, and forms their only covering.

As if the scourges of nature were not sufficient of themselves, the inhabitants endeavour to augment the evils of each other, by means of the little industry and activity which they possess. In addition to violence, they employ every base and ensnaring stratagem for surprising their countrymen, in order that they may sell them for slaves. Their women, who are accomplices in this guilt and robbery, allure men to their embraces, suffer themselves to be caught by their husbands, and cause the unwary victims of their lascivious pleasures to be transferred from their arms into chains of slavery. They are liars, assassins, and thieves, destitute of morality

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or religion, and so devoid of the common feelings of humanity, that they will betray their nearest relations, and sell their own children for a few European trinkets, or a gallon or two of brandy.

Old Benguela, the capital of this kingdom, is situated in ten degrees and thirty minutes of south latitude, and gives name to a province of considerable extent along the coast. It has a pretty large bay, two leagues in length, half a league in breadth, and ten or twelve fathom deep. This harbour, which lies to the south of the town, is greatly incommoded by a bank of sand, which obliges ships to cast anchor at the distance of a league from Benguela. The Portuguese have built a fort in this city, which is inclosed with a ditch and palisades, surrounded with houses, and shaded with bananas, orange and lemon trees, pomegranates, and bancovas. About fifteen leagues from Old Benguela, and to the south of that city, stands the town of Manikicongo, which is a large and populous place, and well supplied with oxen, hogs, and various other cattle.

Most parts of this kingdom were once populous and fertile, but have suffered so much by the inroads and ravages of a wandering and savage nation, called Giagas, that the country has been nearly ruined and depopulated. This people, who are also denominated Iajas, seem from the ferocity of their nature to be the same as the Imbi and the Gallas. We are indebted to a traveller, who resided among them many years, for what we know respecting their customs and manner of life. Their chief has the title of great Giaga. He has an army of twenty thousand men, under the command of twelve cap-

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tains, each of whom has the charge of one of the gates of the camp; whilst the chief has his pavilion, or place of residence, in the centre. He undertakes no enterprize without first consulting the devil, who is called *mokisso*, and by whom he pretends to know the event of every action. This ceremony continues a whole day: he is assisted by fifty women, and two sorcerers, who form a circle round him, make a variety of gestures, and repeat certain incantations. They dye his forehead, temples, breast and belly, with a kind of powder, consecrated by their magical words; put into his hand his *casingola*, or hatchet; and say to him, "Go, march against the enemy, and spare not, for thy *moskisso* will attend thee." A male child is then brought, the head of which he splits. This boy is followed by four men, two of whom he slays with his own hand; the other two are put to death by his orders without the camp. A general entertainment then succeeds: ten cows are killed, five without, and five within the camp; with an equal number of goats and dogs; and the flesh of these animals is eaten with great festivity and triumph.

The dress of a great Giaga consists in having his hair very long, braided with many knots, and intermixed with shells; a girdle composed of the eggs of an ostrich; and a plain *pagne* of stuff, manufactured from the fibres of the palm-tree. His body is marked with various figures, and every day anointed with human grease. He wears a piece of copper two inches in length across his nose; and another of the same size depends from each ear. A great Giaga has about thirty wives, who follow him when he travels, one of whom carries his bows and ar-

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rows, and four of the others his cups and vessels of liquor. When he drinks, they kneel, sing, and clap their hands. He gives an exhortation to his troops every day; and if any one of them turns his back to the enemy, he is condemned to death, and eaten by his comrades. However laborious and fatiguing their march may have been, they no sooner encamp than they fortify the place with strong palisades and dry hedges. They employ a particular corps of their stoutest men for this purpose. Their tents or huts are placed in a regular manner, and close to each other; and they deposit at the door their bows, arrows, and other weapons; so that, on the least alarm, every man can be completely armed and ready in a moment.

The Giagas have no idols for worship; but they adore their *mokisso*. They do not permit their wives to rear up their children, but command them to be put to death as soon as born; the motive for which strange and unnatural conduct is wholly unknown. Whether this practice is intended to extinguish all natural affection among them, and that their women, who are equally warlike with the men, may be accustomed to remain unmoved by any sentiments of mercy and pity, or for some other purpose, it is impossible to divine. The manner in which they recruit their armies, is by the captives taken in war, and whom they carry off in the course of their expeditions. These youths are no sooner inrolled amongst them, than they hang a collar round their necks in token of servitude, and which is to be worn till they have brought home the head of an enemy. It is then taken off, and the warriors are declared free men. Nothing

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has so much influence on their minds, as the hope of being delivered from the collar, which is the badge of slavery, and to attain which, they will brave every danger, and surmount every obstacle.

When a person of distinction dies, the body is washed, anointed with ointments, and bedecked in the most costly manner; and two of the women whom he chiefly loved, after having their arms broken, are placed by the side of the deceased, and in that manner buried with him in the ground. As soon as they are thus deposited, the grave, which is commonly a deep vault, is filled with earth, and if these wretched women are not immediately suffocated, they expire amidst lingering torments.

These barbarians never make war but for the sake of plunder; they only stop their march that they may have time to consume their booty; and when that is exhausted, they immediately recommence their predatory incursions and military operations. But the worst of all is, that not content with the property which they are able to carry off, they generally destroy, burn, or demolish, all immoveable possessions, and leave nothing behind them but a barren and desolate wilderness. They never exhibit any desire of settling in a country, as they have done on the fertile plains of Benguela, unless they be extremely fatigued with their expeditions, or tired and satiated with the shedding of blood and of slaughter. It may be readily conceived, that the inhabitants of a territory which this barbarous people frequent, are in no very agreeable or pleasant situation; and they are, therefore, seldom mentioned: all that we know of them is, that they

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have some form of government, and that their constitution is monarchical.

SECTION II.

Congo.

CONGO is bounded on the north by the river Zaire; on the east by a ridge of mountains and the kingdom of Matemba; on the south by Angola; and on the west by the Atlantic ocean. The extent of this kingdom, along the sea-coast, is from Cape Dande to the influx of the Zaire into the ocean, which is about sixty leagues; but its limits from east to west are said to be much more extensive, though they have never been exactly ascertained. When we consider the proximity of Congo to the equator, we might be led to suppose that the climate of this country would not be healthy and temperate, which it certainly is. These territories being placed on the other side of the line, their seasons are different from ours. The winter commences with our spring, and the summer with our autumn, during the latter of which periods it never rains; but at other seasons of the year, particularly in winter, the rains are violent, the rivers overflow their banks in a very short space of time, and the whole country appears a watery waste. The remote hills which extend towards the Cape of Good Hope, are the only places where snow is ever seen, and on whose summits it occasionally falls, and hence the Portuguese denominated them the Snowy Mountains.

This country abounds with copper, the tincture of which is of so deep a yellow, that it is frequently mistaken for gold. It also contains

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mines of silver and iron. The mountains abound with prodigious quantities of the most beautiful materials for building, such as porphyry, jasper, and marble of various colours; and from which whole columns, with their capitals and bases, may be dug up entire. A stone is also found here, in which many beautiful hyacinths are dispersed, that may be easily separated from the mass; but they are generally suffered to remain in their natural state, and to be erected with it into buildings, which thereby make a brilliant and magnificent appearance.

In this kingdom are annually two harvests, the former in April, the latter in December. In cultivating the earth, they use neither plough nor spade; but when there seems to be a prospect of rain, the women set fire to all the herbs and roots which grow on the land destined for the future crop; and when the first shower has fallen, they turn up the earth with a kind of hoe in one hand, and sow the seed, which hangs in a bag by their sides, with the other. This employment is generally rendered more laborious to the women, by the weight of their children, who are hung at their backs, in order to prevent their receiving any injury from the variety of poisonous insects with which this country abounds.

Congo produces various kinds of grain, one of which, called luco, greatly resembles mustard-seed, and yields a fine sort of meal, not much inferior to flour. Other kinds are known by the names of Congo and Portugal rice. This country also abounds with maize, and a species of pulse unknown in Europe, which grows on a shrub that exists for two or three years, and

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which yields an abundance of fruit every six months. The mandois is a species of pulse that grows under ground, and deserves particular notice; the natives extract a milk from it similar to that which is drawn from almonds. There is also another kind of pulse called incumbe, which in size and form greatly resembles a musquet-ball: and from both these last, the natives are furnished with a pleasant and wholesome nutriment. The Congoese pulverize and make into bread, vast quantities of the mandioca, or maniac-root, the cultivation of which is peculiarly attended to. Little or no labour is requisite for growing the several hortulane productions known in Europe; and there are many herbs to which we are unable to assign names.

Many of the trees of this country are of a prodigious size; and the chief of which is the ensada, that has a very thick trunk, and grows to an uncommon height. The top of this tree has a profusion of branches from which small strings of a yellowish colour descend to the ground, where they take root, and produce fresh plants; these in like manner, in a little time, protrude branches from their summits, which also take root, and spring up as before; insomuch that a single tree, by means of this repeated production, will frequently extend its branches a thousand paces, and form a very effectual shelter for a small army. The leaves of the tender boughs are similar to those of the quince-tree; and the fruit, which resembles a fig, and is red, grows between the leaves. Within the outer bark of the ensada is a fibrous substance, which being cleansed, beaten, and extended, is manufactured into a kind of cloth. The mirrone-tree possesses the

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same qualities as the ensada; but it is regarded with religious veneration, and planted by the inhabitants near their dwellings. Both these appear to be species of the banyan-tree, which is so common in Hindostan. With the wood of the mosuma-tree, the natives make canoes, which are so extremely light, that they will not sink even when filled with water. This tree grows by the river Zaire, and produces a kind of silky cotton, with which the Congoese make personal ornaments.

The fruits common to this part of Africa, are ananas, anones, bananas, arosdses, pompions, melons, cucumbers, citrons, oranges, and lemons; with a great variety of other natural productions of an exquisite taste. The cola fruit, in particular, which is about the size of a pine-apple, is both delicious and medicinal; the quajava, which greatly resembles a pear; the granate plum; and the maginette, a grain that possesses the qualities of pepper. There is also a variety of other trees and fruits, which are said to possess peculiar virtues; but the most extraordinary is the mignamigna, one part of which is celebrated for producing poison, against which the other part furnishes an antidote: should any person, for instance, unwarily eat the fruit, which very much resembles a small lemon, he must have recourse to the leaves; or should he be poisoned by the leaves, the fruit will counteract their pernicious tendency.

The grass here is so high and thick, that it affords one of the most dangerous receptacles for a variety of wild and voracious beasts and venomous insects. This circumstance renders travelling in this country extremely difficult.

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The inhabitants know no other means of delivering themselves from these dangers, than by setting fire to the grass when it is dry. On these occasions, the animals, driven from their retreat by the fury of the flames, become furious, and attack all they meet, however numerous. Travellers, who perceive the fire at a distance, have no other alternative to save themselves from the lions, tigers, serpents, or venomous insects, than to climb a tree as fast as possible, in which the negroes are exceedingly expert; but the Europeans, who are less accustomed to such manœuvres, are more inactive, and under the necessity of carrying with them ladders of ropes, which the negroes fasten for them to the branches of trees.

Of the animals which seem peculiar to this part of Africa, the dante, or lante, appears to be most remarkable. When this creature is slightly wounded, it will follow the scent of gun-powder with such fury, that the hunter has no other resource left for avoiding it, than by climbing a tree with all possible speed, from whence he may take another aim in safety. The flesh of this animal is esteemed delicious; and both the natives and wild beasts wage incessant war against it. The latter of these enemies, however, it frequently contrives to overcome by herding in large companies, in which are seldom less than one hundred at a time; but what animal strength or sagacity can sufficiently guard against the power and knowledge of the former!

The nsossi, about the bigness of a cat, of an ash-colour, and with two small horns on its head, is also very remarkable. It is, perhaps, the most timid creature that exists, starts at the least noise or breath of air, and never dares to satisfy its

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hunger or thirst, without repeatedly leaving its food or drink, and running as if pursued. Its flesh has an exquisite taste ; and its skin is converted by the natives into bow-strings. This country also abounds with the elephant, the rhinoceros, the red buffalo, zebra, elk, lion, tiger, leopard, bear, wild boar, wolf, fox, civet-cat, ape, baboon, and ourang-outang. There is also great plenty of tame animals and domestic fowls, with all the different species of European game.

There are a great number and variety of land and sea-fowls. The ostriches are of an unusual magnitude ; the peacocks have feathers which are formed into elegant umbrellas, and even constitute the ensigns and standards of the army of the king of Angola ; and the parrots are numerous, beautiful, and various, some of them being no larger than sparrows, but of a fine shape, and gaudy plumage. The musical birds, however, are the most famous of all the aerial inhabitants of this country : they are rather larger than the canary-bird, and of beautiful colours ; some being wholly red, and others, green, white or black ; but these last are the most esteemed for their sweet and harmonious notes, which in their modulation greatly resemble the articulation of the human voice.

This country is infested with a variety of reptiles ; and some of the serpents, it has been asserted, are of such astonishing magnitude, that they will swallow a whole sheep. It is probable that this account is exaggerated ; but there unquestionably are many monstrous and venomous snakes, as well as scorpions, from which the very dwellings of the natives are not exempt,

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being as commonly infested with these noxious creatures, as European houses are with rats, mice, and other domestic vermin.

Notwithstanding the multitude of slaves which are annually drawn from this country, Congo is extremely populous. This is owing to the great fecundity of their women; and it is, therefore, pretended, that without this perpetual emigration, without wars, and the mortality occasioned by epidemical diseases, and without famines, the country would be overstocked with inhabitants, who would devour each other. The trade of Congo is not extensive, and amounts to no more than a little barter among the negroes for the most urgent necessaries of life. The currency of the kingdom consists of small shells, which are called *zembis*, and which are procured in the river Bamba; and besides these, they have no other money.

It is curious to hear the reasoning of a Congo negro, whilst he sits smoking his pipe on his mat, covered with mean and wretched cloathing, and scorched by the perpendicular rays of the sun; "Other countries," says he, "are the workmanship of angels, mine is that of God himself. The sovereign whom I acknowledge and obey, is the richest, wisest, and most powerful of monarchs; and the Congoese are the noblest and most happy people in the universe. Tell me not of the magnificence of the courts of your monarchs in Europe and Asia; of their immense revenues; of the grandeur of their palaces; the opulence and happiness of their subjects; and of the great progress they have made in the arts, sciences, and manufactures. All this, however true, is greatly inferior to the dignity and splendour of

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our sovereign and his kingdom. There can be only one Congo in the world; and all others were intended by their creation to promote the glory of our monarch, and the happiness of his people.

"To us the sea pays a constant tribute of zombis; while other nations are under the necessity of digging the mountains and breaking the rocks, for enriching themselves with gold and silver, which are only the excrements of the earth. The sterility and poverty of your country induce you to come and traffic with us, and to expose yourselves to so many labours and dangers. We enjoy ease and indolence, whilst you are engaged in servile employments. What need have I of your stuffs, and of all the produce of your manufactures? Your hats are of no use to me; for my head, without any other covering than hair, is become impervious to the rays of the sun, and to the rain which falls during the wet months. My feet, without shoes, can endure the hard and flinty stones, and the burning sand.

"The mattresses, carpets, and other articles of the like kind, which are so much used in your country, would only serve to expose me to more heat, and render my repose less pleasing and refreshing. I can sleep with ease and tranquillity on the bare ground, and when the friendly zephyrs arise, by the intervention of a wall, or of a piece of cloth extended as a tent, I am not deprived of that valuable gift of nature. If drenched by the rain, I shake myself, and immediately become dry. My wives procure me slaves, and with those whom I sell, I purchase the few necessaries which my small field, culti-

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vated by my women, cannot afford me. In like manner I buy the domestic utensils which I use, and with the fabrication of which I am unacquainted. Indulging myself in ease and contentment, the price of my children furnishes me with pipes, tobacco, and brandy, which rejoice the heart and constitute the enjoyments and the pleasures of life; and with other women, who bring me other slaves, by whom I am enriched."

The natives of this country were in general black; but since the Portuguese have been settled among them, and intermarriages between these people have taken place, the natural complexion has been greatly changed, and an olive colour seems at present to prevail. The hair of the Congoese is dark and woolly, their eyes are black and lively; and they have neither the flat noses, nor thick lips, of the negroes. Their stature, in general, is of a middle size; and, though much darker in their complexions, they greatly resemble the Portuguese. The Congoese are characterized as a mild, courteous, and affable people, who are open to conviction, and quick in apprehension; but, at the same time, their vices more than counterbalance these qualifications; and they are proud, libidinous, and revengeful, and frequently poison each other, though they are sensible that death is the certain consequence of detection.

Before the arrival of the Portuguese in these parts, the natives wore a piece of cloth, manufactured from the palm-tree, round their waists, and which reached to their knees; and hung before them, by way of ornament, the skins of several wild beasts as aprons. The women had three sorts of these aprons, of different dimen-

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cloths, the largest of which reached to their heels, and was fringed all round. Both sexes also wore caps; but these modes of dress are now, for the most part, become obsolete; people of rank and condition having adopted the manner of the Portuguese, and the vulgar alone, through necessity, adhering to their ancient custom.

Grain, fruits, roots, or pulse, constitute the usual food of the Congoese; and water, or palm-wine, is their common beverage. They are very much attached to festive meetings, which are commonly celebrated in the evenings. On these occasions, they seat themselves on the grass in a ring, and have a large wooden dish placed before them. The eldest person in the company then measures and presents to each his share with great exactness, in order that no one may have cause of dissatisfaction or complaint; and if any stranger accidentally approach them, he is immediately invited to join the ring without ceremony. These feasts, which are generally held for the purpose of commemorating some particular event, are always conducted with the greatest propriety and decorum. Love songs, instrumental music, and dancing, conclude the entertainment, and the guests retire, without exhibiting the smallest degree of ebriety or disorder. The principal amusements of this people consist of music and dancing, in the latter of which they are remarkably expert, and observe time with great exactness. The former, however, whether vocal or instrumental, is not very harmonious to the ear of an European.

A man will sell his wife, son, or daughter, for a few beads, a piece of cloth, or a bottle of brandy. When the capuchin friars were one

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day entering the church at St. Salvador, they heard cries and lamentations, and looking round saw a man stamping on the ground, twisting his arms, and having the appearance of a person distracted. On approaching him, they inquired the cause of his distress, to whom he replied, "Alas! I once had brothers, a sister, a father, a mother, a wife, and children. But, unhappy wretch that I am! all these I have sold, and now I have no part of my family left, by whom I can make money." The good fathers were surprised at this relation, and began to remonstrate with him on the heinousness of his conduct, and to shew how much he had violated the laws of reason and nature, by this excess of inhumanity. To this, however, he only replied, "I have committed nothing but what has been practised in this country from the most early periods. What is the crime which I have perpetrated by selling my family? I have only disposed of them to serve others, in a manner they would have been obliged to obey me."

This barbarous practice has not been abolished, but lessened, by the introduction of Christianity. The Europeans, who carry on this infamous traffic, endeavour to quiet conscience, by observing, that if they did not purchase these slaves, they would be sold to others; but, provided others should buy them, they would not be carried into a foreign land, and subjected, as in America, to a kind of life entirely opposite to their early habits; and were they to remain in a state of slavery in their own country, their condition would be greatly preferable, on account of the general indolence and inactivity of the people. It is impossible, therefore, that any

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purchase should be made of these unfortunate beings, which will not be attended with remorse, if we except that of the prisoners taken in war by the Iagas, or other monsters, because they are thus rescued from a cruel and dreadful death; but the number of these is comparatively small. Besides, there is a high degree of guilt and inhumanity in the conduct of those planters, who rescue these unhappy wretches from the butchering hands of the Iagas, only that they may subject them to a continuance and excess of labour, which renders their slavery infinitely worse than death.

The religion of this country, before the introduction of Christianity, was a monstrous compound of idolatry and superstition, with the most absurd and detestable rites and ceremonies, and merely intended to render the people subject to tyranny and slavery. They acknowledged, indeed, the existence of a Supreme Being, called *Nzambiampongee*, whom they considered as omnipotent, and to whom they ascribed the creation of all things; but they believe that he committed the affairs of this world to the care and government of a great number of inferior and subordinate deities. Some of these are appointed to preside over air, and others over the fire, sea, earth, rivers, winds, storms, rain, drought, heat, and cold, men and women, barrenness, famine; and, in a word, over all the blessings and evils to which this world and its inhabitants are subject. Hence proceeds that immense multitude of idols and altars, which are still found in those parts of the kingdom, where the gospel has not been received.

But though the people were taught by the

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gangas, or priests, to acknowledge such a variety of inferior deities, they were left at liberty to choose the object of their worship. By one, therefore, they are represented as a serpent, lion, tiger, or any other animal; by another, as a tree or plant; and by a third, as a stone, or some grotesque idol, rudely carved. Their worship consisted in genuflexions, prostrations, or fumigations, and other superstitious rites; but what was most insisted on by the gangas, and without which, all the rest was unavailable, was the oblation made to them of their most valuable effects; in which, indeed, consisted the principal income of the priests. Some of these gangas undertake to procure blessings, to avert judgments, and to heal the sick; others indicate the proper time for waging war, sowing, and reaping; and all are said to know what occasions a person's death: for the Congoese imagine that no one dies a natural death, but that every man leaves the world through the malice of some enemy. They entertain no doubts that the gangas are able, by means of their divinations, to point out any sorcerer, and this affords them a sufficient pretext for freeing the earth of unbelievers, and an excellent opportunity of being revenged of their enemies. This abominable notion, which is infused by the priests, is the source of eternal discord and murder.

But the highest ecclesiastical officer is called *chalombe*, who possesses a power and authority similar to the pope, and whom the people venerate as a subordinate deity. To this high priest an oblation is made of the first fruits of the earth, with the most scrupulous exactness; if he be satisfied with them, the offerers return with

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the greatest joy, and expect to receive a hundred fold the succeeding harvest. No person of the highest rank is permitted to enter his house, under the severest penalties, without his permission, or on the most urgent occasion, because it is there that he keeps the sacred fire, which he distributes to the people at an extravagant price. Here also he holds his tribunal, and takes cognizance not only of religious, but also of civil affairs, for the performance of which he appoints a certain number of substitutes, or delegates, over whom he presides in person. This office gives him such uncontroulable authority and power, that the governor of the province where the chalombe resides, is under the necessity of purchasing his favour and protection, in order that he may be received by the people, and live in peace and tranquillity.

Such, indeed, is the regard paid by the Congoese to this high priest, that they consider it a capital and unpardonable crime to have any intercourse with their wives and concubines, during the time that he is absent from his usual place of residence; of which, and of his return, he fails not to inform them. He enjoys in abundance every advantage, convenience and pleasure of life; but, nevertheless, like Damocles, he always beholds the sword suspended over his head. Among other superstitious notions, which the natives entertain of the chalombe, there is one which must considerably lessen the pleasure and satisfaction, which the veneration of this infatuated people might otherwise give him; and this is no other, than that, by the dignity of his office, he is either exempted from a natural death, or that, should he die like other men, the

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world would be immediately at an end. To prevent this fatal calamity, therefore, they no sooner perceive his life to be in danger, either through sickness or old age, than his successor is empowered to put him to death, after which the executioner is invested with his dignity and power.

The first preachers of the gospel, that established Christianity in these parts, were priests and monks of the church of Rome, sent hither by the court of Portugal, and who of consequence instructed their converts in no other doctrine or discipline than those of the Romish hierarchy; and the catholic religion was so readily received, that it became established in all the converted provinces of the kingdom. But, if we are to believe the generality of writers, the greatest part of the Christians of Congo have nothing of their religion besides the name. They are wholly ignorant of the fundamental doctrines and precepts of the gospel; and others pay so little regard to them, that they hesitate not to keep a great number of concubines, besides their lawful wives. Many of them who make a fair show of carrying chaplets and crosses, and openly conform to the worship of the catholic church, privately indulge in heathenish superstitions, and carry talismans and amulets concealed under their clothes.

These irregularities, so inconsistent with the profession and practice of Christianity, are thought to have arisen, in a great measure, from the depravation of the Portuguese, who disgrace the religion they profess by the immorality of their conduct, and set the worst examples before the Congoese, who are too much inclined to

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imitate them. Certain, however, it is, that there is nothing here of that pomp and religious pageantry, which is so visible in other Romish countries; no stately cathedrals, no archbishoprics, rich abbies, or monasteries. There are also no universities, or seminaries of education; and only inferior schools for the instruction of youth. One cause of the decay of Christianity in these parts, may be justly imputed to the want of teachers. The Jesuits in Congo have the sole care of instructing the Christians in the knowledge of the gospel; and their number is insufficient for this office. There is only one bishop in the whole kingdom. The churches which they have erected are badly constructed, have very few ornaments, and the ceremonies are seldom or never accompanied with that pomp and splendour, by means of which they are rendered venerable in the catholic temples. The Christianity, therefore, which is practised in this country, is greatly disfigured and degraded, and the externals of religion are not sufficiently striking to eradicate from the mind deeply-rooted superstitions.

The government of Congo is monarchical and truly despotic. The king is the sole proprietor of all the lands within his dominions, and he bestows them on certain individuals, on condition that they pay him an annual tribute, and render him particular services; on failure of either of which, and not unfrequently to gratify a favourite minister, or even mistress, the old possessors are turned out, and the most affluent sometimes reduced to a state of beggary and want. Even the princes of the blood are subject to the same arbitrary custom; inso-

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much that there is no person, even of rank and quality, that can bequeath any land to his heirs or successors; and when these possessors die, the lands revert to the crown. It depends, therefore, entirely on the will of the prince, whether they shall be continued in the same, or disposed into other hands. The tribute, or tax, which is affixed to the grant of lands, induces the governors of the provinces, and the several great land-holders of the nation, to treat the people with cruelty, and to sell them for slaves. This conduct of the king, and his frequent extortions, often excite a revolt among the governors, who, become too rich and powerful to submit to the payment of the tribute, ally themselves to other rebellious subjects, and openly invade and plunder their country.

The established rule of succession to this monarchy, is partly hereditary, and partly elective. No person can ascend the throne, whose lineage is not derivable from the royal family; but whether he be of a nearer or more remote kindred to the last monarch, by the male or female side; or whether he be born of a wife or a concubine; his interest is neither promoted nor lessened by these circumstances. Of consequence, therefore, it frequently happens that, on the demise of a monarch, a number of competitors appear, though the choice generally falls on him who has most friends, or is at the head of the greatest body of forces, provided he be of the catholic faith, which is considered as an essential, and, therefore, an indispensable qualification in those who are candidates for the crown.

There are three principal officers, in whom the election to the vacant throne is chiefly vest-

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ed, and who are empowered to nominate to the monarchy. When these perceive, that the contest between the competitors is likely to become dangerous, they command them to appear before the bishop, or, in case he be absent, before the vigar-general, where the matter is finally determined. When the choice is made, and a successor appointed, the grandees of the realm are summoned to meet on a plain near St. Salvador, from whence they proceed in great pomp to the cathedral; where an altar is erected, at one end of which the bishop is seated, and at the other is the principal governor of the kingdom, around whom stand the several candidates, who are yet ignorant of the elected person. The governor having prayed, pronounces a long and elaborate discourse on the duties of a monarch, and the manifold cares and difficulties that attend royalty; after which he declares to the assembly, that he and the other electors having duly and impartially considered the different claims and merits of the several candidates, have nominated such a one to the royal dignity.

The elector then advances, and taking the new monarch by the hand brings him to the bishop, before whom he prostrates himself. The king, whilst on his knees, receives a short but pathetic exhortation from the prelate, who advises him to be a firm and zealous protector and promoter of Christianity, and to continue an obedient and dutiful son of the catholic church. After which, the usual oaths are administered to the newly elected sovereign, which he pronounces with a loud voice; the bishop then conducts him to the throne, and puts the royal standard into his hand, and the crown on

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his head; on which all the people prostrate themselves before the king, and, with loud acclamations, accompanied by the firing of cannon and the sound of musical instruments, acknowledge him as their sovereign, and express their concurrence and congratulations.

Two remarkable ceremonies immediately follow the coronation of the king; the first of which consists in his giving a solemn benediction to the people; and the other in investing the grandees with the principal dignities and fiefs of his empire. The former is always attended by a vast concourse of people, who consider the benediction of the monarch as of the greatest value, and would esteem themselves accursed, were they deprived of the benefits of it by any neglect. On the day appointed, the king appears in great splendour, surrounded by the governors of provinces, the nobles of his kingdom, his guards, officers, and attendants, all magnificently dressed. The ceremony is performed in a wide and spacious plain, sufficiently large for containing the innumerable multitudes that assemble. On an eminence, and in the centre of the plain, is erected a stately throne, covered with a canopy, from which he can see all the people, and distinguish the several grandees that surround him according to their rank. If he perceives any persons present, who have been so unfortunate as to incur his displeasure and hatred, he fixes his eyes stedfastly on them, and commands them to be driven from his sight as wretches that are unworthy of the royal benediction. This is a convenient method of getting rid of those who have offended him, as there is no room for explanation or resistance. The very disgrace of such a re-

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jection would be considered as the greatest misfortune that could befal a man of quality. But this is not all: the populace, eager to express their zeal and affection for their prince, immediately lay violent hands on the obnoxious persons, drag them out of the assembly with every mark of indignity, and seldom suffer them to escape with life.

These unhappy men being removed, the king addresses himself to the rest of the assembly, exhorts them to continue true and faithful subjects, and promises to recompence their loyalty with his favour and protection. Then rising from his throne, the multitude prostrate themselves on the earth before him, and receive his benediction. This is done not by words, but by a peculiar expansion of his arms over them, accompanied with an undescribable motion of his fingers, which the people return by the most vociferous expressions of joy, and the whole ceremony is concluded with the sound of various musical instruments and the discharge of artillery. Those who survive the disgrace of being excluded from the benediction of the monarch, are regarded with horror and contempt, and considered as excommunicated, till, by interest, presents, or submissive behaviour, they are enabled to regain the royal favour, when the king's blessing obliterates all former marks of ignominy and dishonour.

The ceremony of granting investitures is performed with similar pomp and splendour, and equally proves the submissive and servile conduct of the people towards their sovereign. On the day appointed, the king is seated on the throne with great magnificence, and around him

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lie prostrate the several candidates for honours or emoluments, who are surrounded by a vast crowd of spectators in the same posture. At the third discharge of the artillery, the suppliants are conducted in order to the foot of the throne, accompanied by their friends and relations in their most splendid dress; there falling on their knees, the prime minister delivers to them the grants; which being received by them with tokens of the deepest submission, the king expatiates on the greatness and value of the favours he has bestowed, the conditions on which they are conferred, and the several duties which those who are thus highly honoured are in consequence bound to perform. In conformity to these injunctions, they take a solemn oath; after which, the insignia of the office or dignity are delivered to them, and consist of a white bonnet, a scymitar, a flag of honour, a chair of state, and a carpet. The ceremony concludes with prostrations, clapping of hands, and grateful acclamations. Should those who are disappointed in their hopes of receiving the dignities or offices after which they aspire, be so imprudent as to exhibit marks of discontent or displeasure, they would be put to death by the populace. As soon as the business is terminated, the king rises from his throne, and is conducted back to his palace, amidst the acclamations of the people, the sound of musical instruments, and the discharge of artillery.

The king and his court, who imitate the Portuguese, live and dress in a sumptuous manner. The table of the monarch is covered with a variety of the most exquisite dishes; and his cup and sideboard abound with vessels of silver and

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gold. He always eats alone, and never suffers any person, not even of the highest rank, to sit with him; but he permits the princes of the blood and other officers of state to stand near him during the time he dines. His meat and liquor are tasted by others, before he eats or drinks. When he sits in judgment to hear causes, or receive petitions, no one is allowed to speak to him, besides the nobles and great lords of his court. He seldom goes abroad, except on particular occasions, when he is attended by a numerous guard, who are armed with musquets, bows and arrows, and followed by a great number of musicians, the sound of whose instruments may be heard to a great distance, and gives notice of the monarch's approach.

The king's court is very numerous and brilliant, and consists not only of the officers of his household, but of all the governors of his kingdom, his generals and military officers. Besides these, he has his auditors, judges, counsellors, and secretaries, whose business, however important and intricate, is soon dispatched, because every thing is transacted in a verbal and summary manner, and without any writings; yet the multiplicity of affairs obliges them to appear frequently before him; and as few of them can read or write, his decisions and orders must be received by word of mouth, and conveyed to the parties interested by persons of approved fidelity, entrusted with some unquestionable token that what they report perfectly coincides with the will and commands of the sovereign. These great officers, notwithstanding their title, authority, and grandeur, are equally slaves with those over whom they tyrannize, and live in

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continual expectation and dread of receiving some signal mark of the royal displeasure.

The palace and apartments of the king are splendid and spacious. His seraglio resembles a prison, into which when the women have once entered, they are confined during the remainder of their lives. The apartments of these females are surrounded with a high and strong wall, or with quickset hedges which are impenetrable. The care and government of this place are usually committed to a nobleman in great favour and esteem with the monarch. But though the king is not prohibited from keeping as many concubines as he pleases, he is only allowed one wife, who is styled *manimombanda*, or mistress of the women, and superintends the œconomy of the whole seraglio. Before he enters into the nuptial contract, he causes a tribute to be levied throughout his dominions, and which is applied as a dowry to the young princess, and is called *fintelfo*; besides which, on the day appointed for the wedding, he deputes proper officers to measure the length and breadth of every bed belonging to his subjects, who are obliged to pay at the rate of so much for every span. As soon as the marriage ceremony is performed, the queen is conducted to her apartments in the palace, accompanied by those young ladies who are destined to be her companions, where pastimes of various kinds occupy their attention, and employ the principal part of their future years.

The revenue of the king chiefly consists in the tribute that is paid him by several vassal princes; in the renewal of fiefs and investitures; in the voluntary offerings of his subjects; and in the

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current coin of the kingdom, of which he is sole proprietor. He can, however, levy taxes throughout his dominions, as oft as he pleases; but he has never recourse to this expedient, except in cases of necessity. The military forces of Congo are neither numerous, nor well-disciplined; and they are extremely ill-armed and clothed. They are, however, obliged to appear at prescribed musters, where they are exercised; but, instead of learning the use of offensive weapons, they are chiefly taught to cover their naked bodies with their shields, and to protect themselves from the missile darts of the enemy. In a word, their army is such, that it would be utterly incapable of making any resistance against a small number of regular and well-disciplined forces. The grand review generally takes place every year in the month of July, and is singularly curious. It is attended by all the princes and nobility of the kingdom; and every soldier is anxious and ambitious, that he may appear to the best advantage on that occasion. How far this is the case may be learned from the dress and arms which they at that time make use of. Some come armed with bows and arrows of various sizes; others have large swords, daggers, and cutlasses, hanging at their sides; some have no other arms or clothes than long targets, which cover their naked bodies; some have the skins of different animals depending from the girdle to the knees; and others paint their faces and bodies with various colours. In short, the more monstrous and horrible is their appearance, the more brave and warlike they fancy themselves to be.

Those who are not sufficiently rich for pro-

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curing a large sword of steel, fail not to get one of hard wood. Their colours, in general, consist only of dirty and tattered rags. Their arms, which are usually formed of brass and steel, are commonly half eaten away with rust; and those that are composed of wood, are both badly made and badly painted. To complete the picture, and finish the portrait, invalids, both old and young, together with the blind and the lame, are under the necessity of being present at this annual review, and some are seen without legs or arms, or otherwise maimed or mutilated in a thousand different ways. They are all careful to decorate their heads with plumes of feathers of various colours, according to the peculiar taste and disposition of each. Besides arms, they generally carry with them some domestic utensil, or other mark, that sufficiently indicates their trade or profession.

The soldiers being thus assembled in the presence of the king and the whole court, the nobility pass along the ranks, and exhort these brave and warlike troops to perform their duty on the day of battle; and to fight the enemy valiantly under the standards of their great and mighty monarch. To this exhortation they reply, by observing, "Where is there one equal to our king under the whole heavens?" Another troop exclaims, "Who is to be compared to our sovereign for power, virtue, and wisdom?" A third cries out, "May he live for ever; and his dominion be extended to the most remote ages!" And all joining, as it were, in full chorus, repeat the following prayer with great affection and zeal: "May his throne be exalted and established far above the sun and the stars!

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may his enemies be confounded before him, and trod under foot like the dust!" These clamours are combined with the clashing of arms the discharge of musquetry, and the sound of various musical instruments; and the troops engage in a sham fight, which not unfrequently becomes serious and real. This ceremony being ended, the king gives a grand entertainment; and the whole is concluded with music, dancing, and feasting.

When the troops are engaged in actual service, they plunder all that comes in their way, without any regard to friend or foe. Fruits, grain, and cattle, are seized by the Congoese; and they leave nothing behind them, in the country through which they pass, but marks of misery and devastation. The inhabitants of the villages and hamlets retire on their approach into the woods and mountains, carrying with them their moveable effects. The Congoese always endeavour to attack the enemy in a spacious plain, where they begin the onset with a fury that is incredible, and which wholly precludes the possibility of attending to order or regularity; and after they are once engaged, they never listen to the commands of their general, whose authority immediately ceases. The fight generally continues in this irregular manner, with inveterate obstinacy, till some of the troops on one side give way; when the rest instantly betake themselves to flight, without regarding the remonstrances and efforts of their officers to rally them. The flight of one army fails not of exciting the other to a vigorous pursuit, in which the slaughter is continued without intermission. After the conquerors have pursued the fugitives

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as far as possible, they return and plunder the camp of the enemy, seizing all the men, women, and children, whom they consider as the most considerable and valuable part of the spoil, brand as slaves, and sell to the Europeans. With respect to the wounded amongst them, few, if any, survive; for the weapons being poisoned, a speedy death constantly ensues, unless a very powerful antidote be immediately applied. A victory generally produces a peace; which, being concluded on the terms of the conqueror, seldom proves of longer duration, than till the vanquished have sufficiently recovered their strength for renewing the war.

Before the introduction of Christianity, the Congoese, on the demise of their monarch, used a great number of superstitious ceremonies, accompanied with music, dancing, and feasting, and which were resumed every year, on the anniversary of the king's decease. At the death of their sovereign, all the princes and governors of the empire, attended by a splendid retinue, appeared in mourning robes; and a certain number of the late monarch's favourite concubines, or of the young ladies belonging to the court, accompanied the corpse into the grave. The number of those who were allowed to be interred with the deceased, amounted to twelve; but that of the candidates who contended for this honour, was much more considerable. The struggle for this dignity was generally so violent, that they fought with each other to obtain it; and the contest was commonly decided by an officer of the court, or by ballot; and so happy were the young females that were nominated to be interred with the monarch, that they endeavoured to

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appear on the day of their burial, with all possible pomp and gaiety. Their relations also seemed no less sensible of the honour, and presented them with jewels and other ornaments, for enabling them to make a suitable appearance at the approaching solemnity.

Christianity has long since abolished this absurd and inhuman custom, but has not been able to suppress the drunken revels, which are indulged during the eight days they mourn for the deceased, and on the anniversary festivals. In other respects they follow the ritual of the church of Rome; and the funeral is performed with all the pomp and splendour due to the dignity of the person. The remains of the monarch are deposited in a beautiful coffin in the middle of a large vault, ornamented with a suit of black hangings, which are annually renewed, notwithstanding the bad odour that exhales for some time after from the body of the defunct.

The Congoese have no written laws, but custom and tradition serve instead of a code, unless favour or bribery interpose. Every province has a chief justice, who decides in all civil and criminal affairs; from whose award, however, an appeal may be made to the king, who presides at the supreme court, and determines the dispute by his authority. Every judge chooses a number of assistants, generally twelve, out of his own community; and when the cause is brought before him, he hears and examines the parties and their witnesses; and the plaintiff and defendant are the only pleaders. If any person, however, thinks himself incapable of properly stating his own case, he is allowed to substitute a friend. When both parties have been heard,

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the judge recapitulates the whole of the evidence to his assistance, and asks their opinion; after which he immediately pronounces sentence, and dismisses the court.

There are only three offences which are deemed capital: treason, murder, and sorcery. The punishment for the first of these crimes depends on the will of the prince, who generally condemns the traitor to lose his head and estate. The murderer is immediately decollated, unless some aggravating circumstances seem to require a more severe death, or the relations of the deceased request a more dreadful punishment; in which last case, the criminal is usually delivered up to them, to be disposed of according to their pleasure. The pretended crime of sorcery is expiated by burning alive; and this punishment, we are credibly informed, is still very frequently enforced among the pagan natives. They do not consider adultery as any very important offence; the gallant is obliged to pay to the injured person the value of a slave; and the woman to ask her husband pardon and forgiveness; on failure of this last requisition, a divorce is sued for, which is generally obtained without much difficulty from the Portuguese priest. For the prevention and punishment of more trivial offences, the bastinado, whipping, fines, and imprisonments, are used; the two former being generally the lot of the poorer culprits only. Picking of pockets and private stealing are considered as crimes worthy of being punished; but to take any thing by force, or to rob boldly, is a noble action, and thought to be more heroic in proportion to the largeness and value of the booty acquired.

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The chief commodities imported into this country by the Portuguese, are the produce of Brazil, or the manufactures of Europe: the former of which consist of fruits, grain, and other provisions; and the latter of Turkey carpets, English cloth, tobacco, wine, brandy, together with a great variety of domestic utensils. In return for which the Congoese export a vast number of slaves to America, the annual amount of which is calculated to be fifteen thousand. Many of them, however, die on their passage, or soon after their arrival. Nor need we wonder at this, when we consider the cruel and inhuman manner in which these miserable creatures are treated during their voyage: seven or eight hundred slaves are frequently stowed in the hold of a single ship, where there is scarcely room to shift themselves from one side to the other. They are allowed no other provisions than horse-beans and water, and generally labour under a complication of diseases, superadded to that perturbed state of mind, which unavoidably takes place from the gloomy prospect of terminating their days in unpitied servitude. Dreadful, however, as these sensations and expectation of the poor negro must be, they are considerably heightened by the strange notions, that those who are sold for slaves, are immediately put to death on their landing in America; where their bones are burned and calcined, in order to make gunpowder; and that their flesh, fat, and marrow, are expressed into oil, which, it is supposed, is the sort imported by the Europeans into Africa. The Congoese have these innate ideas of horrid barbarity so firmly rooted in their minds, that the dread of being sold into slavery, and sent into

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America, will deter the boldest and most seditious, and render them perfectly obsequious to the will of their superiors.

The artificers in iron are most esteemed; not on account of the superior usefulness of that metal, but because of a tradition current amongst them, that the first blacksmith was elevated to the throne of Congo. Notwithstanding, however, this honorary distinction, they have made so little improvement in this art, that a stranger seeing them at work, would imagine it had been only lately introduced. A stone or piece of hard wood is their anvil, which they hold between their legs, and on which they beat and form the iron with a shapeless mallet; whilst, in the mean time, they move a wretched pair of bellows with their feet; and they have no files with which to polish the articles they thus fabricate. The weavers are still less perfect at their business than the smiths; and it is astonishing how they can make such curious works as they perform, with instruments so simple and defective. They fasten their threads only at both ends, to two pieces of timber laid on the ground, and conduct the cross web through each other one by one. Notwithstanding the length and difficulty of this labour, they adorn their work with curious devices, which exhibit singular neatness and dexterity. Their joiners and carpenters produce the most clumsy articles imaginable; though they employ double the time in their construction, which would be necessary to render them neat and perfect, if their tools were more proper for their purpose, and they had been taught how to use them rightly. In short, every mechanic, however advanced in years and experience, appears to be only a learn-

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er; and they exhibit not the smallest ingenuity in fabricating their utensils, or in constructing their huts, boats, or vehicles for carriage. These last articles, however great the distance, or indifferent the roads may be, are all borne on the shoulders of slaves.

The rich, indeed, travel in a kind of palanquin, which has a covering to shelter it from the sun; and not unfrequently a slave also attends with an umbrella, to shade his master. These palanquins are carried on the shoulders of two stout slaves, who are relieved at proper intervals by others, whilst the master lolls at his ease, and smoaks, sleeps, or vacantly stares about him. Travelling, however, in this country, is tedious, chargeable, and inconvenient; it is wholly performed by slaves, who are very expensive; and the badness of the roads, the rapidity of the rivers, the want of bridges, together with the prodigious number of wild beasts, render it equally difficult and dangerous. The man who is under the necessity of making a journey on foot, never burthens himself with any thing, for the wife carries the bag containing the provisions, which is hung at her back, and suspended by a thong that passes round her forehead. In addition also to this load, she perhaps carries a child in her arms which she suckles, and drags another along by the hand, whilst the indolent husband carelessly smoaks his pipe, and never once offers to assist her.

The houses of the Congoese are low, ill-built, and of a circular form, raised with wood and mud, and poorly thatched with straw or fern, which barely serve to keep out the sun and rain. They have no windows, and they receive light

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only by the doors, which are usually so low that the shortest person must stoop to enter them; and even in the huts themselves, a tall man can scarcely stand upright. The houses, however, in St. Salvadore, the capital, and in some other towns, are more spacious and higher; being whitened within and without, and divided into apartments, the floors of which are covered with curious matting. The habitations of the Portuguese are constructed after the European manner, being commonly built of brick and mortar, and pretty well furnished. The furniture of the Congoese is much adapted to their houses, and consists principally of a few ill-contrived instruments of agriculture, hatches, cutlasses, calabashes for holding their provisions, pots, kettles, earthen-dishes, and hand-mills for grinding their corn. Their most sumptuous beds are large coarse sackcloths filled with leaves or straw, over which they throw a slight covering; and logs of wood frequently supply the place of pillows. It must, however, be confessed, that since the Portuguese have been settled in this country, the natives have begun to imitate, in some degree, the sumptuousness of their furniture. The palaces of most of the princes and viceroys are decorated with large and splendid umbrellas, looking-glasses, pictures, chairs, china, and cabinets; while the inferior nobility, unable to purchase these expensive articles, content themselves with a more humble imitation, or, with a true philosophical spirit, affect to despise them, as unworthy the attention of great and elevated minds.

Polygamy was allowed in this kingdom, till the time of the introduction of Christianity; since which period, however, no persuasions will pre-

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vail on the most religious of the Congoese catholics, to renounce the custom of keeping as many mistresses as their circumstances will permit; though the Portuguese nuptial ceremony is chiefly adopted by the Christian converts. Even those who seem to comply most strictly with the laws of the church, relative to marriage, reserve to themselves the liberty of conversing with the person made choice of for a wife, and to enjoy with her all privileges and endearments, for two or three years before the nuptial contract be finally solemnized; and the relations of both sides think it reasonable, that some time should be allowed for a trial of each other, in order that they may become intimately acquainted, previously to their entering into an engagement, which is to continue during the remainder of their lives. When, therefore, the conditions of the suitor are accepted by the parents and the girl, she is conducted to the house of her future husband, as privately as possible, and thus commences her state of probation. When the term agreed on is expired, it is generally the woman that solicits the performance of the nuptial ceremony, which alone gives her the title and privilege of a wife. The man, however, is commonly very indifferent with respect to the solemnization of the marriage, because he is about to impose on himself a sort of restraint; but he is often induced to comply, in order that he may obtain the stipulated dowry. But should the woman fail with regard to fruitfulness, industry, or temper, during the period of her noviciate, the husband returns her to her parents. She is not, however, considered as being in the least injured

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by this intercourse; nor does the reason for which she was returned, operate much to her disadvantage, as she is generally soon after taken on trial by some other person. But should the man, after enjoying for a time all the nuptial privileges, venture to tie the indissoluble knot, he invites the friends and relations of both sides, who appear in their most sumptuous apparel, and fill the air with their acclamations and expressions of joy. The priest enters and performs the ceremony; after which follows an exchange of presents, according to their rank and condition in life. On these occasions an elegant banquet is prepared, in order to treat the guests. The poor, rather than be deficient in this respect, would sell one or two of their children to purchase a calf or an ox, together with wine and brandy, for furnishing the entertainment. The repast, generally, continues till sun-set, or rather as long as the provisions and liquor last. The whole is concluded with music and dancing, till they fall asleep on the spot.

It is an invariable custom, that the husband and wife shall have different departments; for the non-performance of which no excuse is admitted. To the husband it belongs to furnish lodging and clothing for his wife and children, to prune the trees, and to collect the palm-wine. The business of the wife consists in providing food for the family, and waiting on her husband at meals.

The small-pox is frequently very destructive among the Congoese, and depopulates whole villages. The extreme virulence of this disease is chiefly owing to the neglect of applying proper remedies, and of observing due precautions:

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they suffer the sick and healthy to live promiscuously. Besides keeping their pores shut by the grease with which they daily anoint their bodies, they contract them also by means of the cold water, into which they plunge themselves, after dancing till they are become disgusting with sweat. Though the disorders which thence result are of a common kind, their physicians are ignorant of the means of curing them, and the patients generally die. Fevers, attended with violent pains in the head, are also very frequent and dangerous, especially during the winter season, when the great rains render the air unhealthy. As antidotes to these disorders they prescribe abstinence, and will refrain two or three days from eating or drinking.

They inclose the dead in cotton cloth, or straw mats; but people of rank are wrapped up in European linen, and the bier is covered with black. The deceased is buried in the fields, where the graves are distinguished either by throwing up hills of earth over them, or by raising plantations of trees round them. Both rich and poor observe a kind of mourning for their relations. They confine themselves for three days, during which period they abstain from all kinds of food. They also shave their heads, anoint their bodies with oil, and then rub themselves with a quantity of earth, or dust; which gives them a most hideous and fantastic appearance. Those of a higher rank shave only the upper part of their heads, which they bind with a piece of cloth or leather; and confine themselves to their houses during eight days, after which they return to their former manner of living. Widows, however, are obliged to sub-

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mit to a much longer seclusion from the world; especially at court, and in populous places, where it would be considered as extremely indecent and unbecoming for any such females to appear in public in less than a year, and even then otherwise than in black.

The Congoese entertain a barbarous and inhuman opinion, that, as dying persons are about to pass from a wretched and troublesome life into a state of happiness and tranquillity, no performance can be more kind and charitable than what tends to accelerate their deliverance by any means. Hence it happens, that they no sooner perceive a man in the agonies of death, than they stun the patient with cries and shouts, or endeavour to stifle him with caresses. This, however, may be considered as a mild sort of treatment, in comparison of what is practised by the common people, who always endeavour to dispatch the dying person as soon as possible, by stopping his mouth and nose, striking him on the breast, or such other inhuman treatment. It is related of the inhabitants of the province of Metamba, that when any of their relations are at the point of death, they drag them out of their bed by the arms or legs, throw them into the air as high as possible, and then suffer them to fall to the ground. After viewing them attentively for some time, when dead or expiring, they throw themselves on the body, kiss it, and press it to their breasts with sighs and other marks of sorrow, which might be capable of exciting the pity of those, who are not acquainted with the indifference and want of affection that prevail in all their families. The body is then dressed in a decent manner, and

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sprinkled with meal by the oldest person; whilst the rest join in mournful songs, which are accompanied with hideous howlings.

The origin and history of this kingdom are extremely intricate and obscure; and there is no possibility of fixing either the time of the foundation of this monarchy, or of obtaining an authentic account of the several kings that occupied the throne from the reign of Luqueni, who was the founder and first sovereign of this empire. These defects are to be ascribed to the ignorance of the Congoese in the art of writing, since few facts, and still fewer dates, have been preserved by them. The father of Luqueni was Eminia-n-Zima, a petty prince on the banks of the Zaire, who having espoused the daughter of another chieftain, gave a loose to the dictates of his ambition, and being dissatisfied with the small extent of his dominions, resolved to attempt the subjugation of the neighbouring territory, which was composed of a number of small republics, jealous of their liberties and independence. Accordingly, having invaded these states, he met with a brave and vigorous opposition, which continued for several years; but at length, through dint of valour and perseverance, he made himself master of a strongly fortified place, which served him as a retreat, and was capable of sustaining the attack of the united force of his enemies. From this fortress he made several inroads into the country with impunity, and, at length, subdued the whole territory.

Luqueni, in the mean time, having incurred the displeasure of his father, erected his standard, and was proclaimed king by the soldiers,

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who deserted the cause of Eminia-n-Zima, and ranged themselves under the banners of his son. Elated with the dignity which had been conferred on him, and the increase of his army, Luqueni attacked and carried all before him. He subdued the whole province of Npembacassi, which has been since denominated Congo, and enlarged his conquests from the mouth of the Zaire to the city of St. Salvadore, without meeting any vigorous opposition; the prince of that vast tract of country having been defeated in the first engagement, and obliged to live exiled during the remainder of his days. The descendants of this unhappy sovereign had recourse to the clemency of the conqueror, obtained the investiture of some petty lordships, on condition of their acknowledging Luqueni as their king, and paying him a certain annual tribute. Their successors, however, have made many fruitless efforts to regain possession of their ancient dominions; and in order to prevent their title to the crown from becoming null and void, they yearly protest against the usurpation of the reigning prince: this is done by sending a woman annually to command the king to retire to his own dominions, and to resign a realm to which he has no right. The monarch answers, that God has raised him to the throne, which he hopes to transmit to his descendants; after which having made the woman some considerable presents, she departs.

A. D. 1484. John, king of Portugal, sent Diego Cam, a man of an enterprising genius, and the most expert navigator in his service, to make discoveries on the coast of Africa, farther southward than had been hitherto at-

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tempted. Cam accordingly set sail; and, endeavouring to double Catalina, he insensibly fell into the river Zaire, in which he had not proceeded far before he perceived a great number of the natives, greatly resembling the people he had already seen; who approached the Portuguese, and presented them some of their fruits and other refreshments, which Cam thankfully accepted, and returned some small equivalent. Delighted with the frankness of their conduct, this navigator paid them great attention, and endeavouring to become acquainted with their sovereign and mode of government, prevailed on the Congoese to accompany four or five of the Portuguese to St. Salvadore. These were charged with various articles of value, as presents for the king and royal family, to induce the monarch to conclude an alliance with the Portuguese. Not, however, returning by the time appointed, Cam was compelled by different causes to leave them behind and sail for Europe, but carried with him four of the natives, who were persons of distinction, as hostages for the safety of his countrymen. During the voyage, the Congoese made such progress in acquiring a knowledge of the Portuguese language, that on their arrival at the court of king John, they were capable of informing his majesty of several important matters relative to their country. This so delighted the Portuguese monarch, that he ordered Cam to return with them to Congo loaded with presents for themselves and their king, whom he exhorted to become a convert to the true religion, and to acknowledge the Supreme Being.

On his arrival in Congo, Cam was pleased to

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find his men safe, and that they had been favourably received at court. Soon after, a splendid embassy was sent to the king, soliciting his friendship, to the success of which the representations of the natives, who had been at the court of Portugal, did not a little contribute. Accordingly, an alliance was soon formed between the two nations, which, though sometimes interrupted by intervening causes, has never yet been entirely dissolved. Cam having sailed on the coast as far as the twenty-second degree of south latitude, made a formal visit to the king, who received him with the greatest respect; and, on the departure of this navigator for Europe, appointed one of his nobles, named Zuchut, to accompany him in quality of ambassador, to the Portuguese court for the purpose of requesting a number of holy men, who might instruct him and his subjects in the principles of Christianity. Several young Congoese also attended the ambassador; all of whom, on their arrival in Portugal, were taught the doctrines of the gospel, and baptized in the Christian faith at Beza, where the court then resided, with the greatest splendour and solemnity.

They were then sent back into their own country, accompanied by several priests; who, under the command of Roderigo Souza, arriving at the city of Songo, on the river Zaire, made a convert of the governor of that province, who was baptized by the name of Emanuel, in compliment to the king of Portugal's brother. Admiral Souza then hastened to the court of the sovereign of Congo, where he met with the most flattering attention. The king was highly pleased with the presents that had been sent him, and especially with the sacred

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utensils carried by the priests, for the reception of which he resolved to erect a magnificent church. This edifice being built, the king, queen, and several of the nobility were baptized; their majesties assuming the names of John and Eleonora, in honour of the king and queen of Portugal; and the royal example was followed by many thousands. The sovereign of Congo being obliged to set out soon after, in order to suppress an insurrection which had broken out in his dominions, Souza presented him with a standard on which a cross was embroidered, and exhorted him to place his confidence of success in that Saviour, whose religion he had embraced. This expedition terminated in a signal victory, which the Congoese ascribed to supernatural assistance, and accordingly great numbers of them renounced the religion of their country, and embraced Christianity. The eldest son of the king became a very zealous convert, and assumed the name of Alphonso; but his younger brother, Panzo Aquitima, continued strongly attached to the heathenish superstitions in which he had been educated, became the inveterate enemy of the Portuguese and of the Christian religion; and, at length, prevailed on his father to apostatize, and to persecute all his converted subjects that did not follow his example. Alphonso, however, resisting all the caresses and menaces of his relations, was accused of treason, and banished into a remote province. But the king having discovered soon after the injustice of the accusation, recalled Alphonso, and gave him the government of the principal part of his dominions; through which the young prince endeavoured to disseminate the doctrines of the

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gospel, and even enforced its establishment by the severest penalties. This irritating his brother, who still preserved considerable influence over the king, Alphonso was ordered to appear at court, and give an account of his conduct; which, however, he refused to do. His father's death happening soon after, he was proclaimed king of Congo.

A. D. 1492.

Panzo, who was at that time at the head of a numerous army, was no sooner informed that his brother had taken possession of the throne, than he marched to attack him. Alphonso had only a few Christian soldiers, whom, however, he inspired with such resolution, that he gained a complete victory, and drove his brother into a wood, attended only by an old experienced officer, where, it is reported, he fell into a trap placed for the purpose of catching wild beasts. Panzo died two days after, either from the injury he received from this accident, or from his grief and despair at the disappointment of all his hopes. After this, Alphonso enjoyed an undisturbed and prosperous reign, and promoted Christianity to the utmost of his power. He sent his son Don Pedro, accompanied by several young noblemen, to be educated in Portugal, and for whom the Portuguese monarch procured the ablest teachers. These youths having made a surprising progress in the knowledge of Christianity, after their return to Congo, greatly increased the number of converts by the force of their arguments, and exemplary conduct. Alphonso lived to see the greater part of his subjects renounce their ancient religion, and become proselytes to the Christian faith. A little before his death, he sent for his son Don Pedro, and

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exhorted him to promote Christianity in his dominions, as the most effectual means of securing to himself and his people, the divine favour and protection. Having thus spoken, he blessed the young prince, and died universally lamented. A. D. 1525.

He was succeeded in the kingdom by his son Don Pedro, who possessed his father's virtues, and even endeavoured to surpass him in liberality, by the considerable augmentations he made to the revenues of the church. During the reign of this prince, the pope granted to the bishop of St. Thomas, the spiritual jurisdiction of this kingdom; in consequence of which he assumed the title of bishop of Congo. When he arrived to take possession of his bishopric, the joy of the people was universal, and almost incredible. The king, in particular, distinguished himself on this occasion: the roads through which the bishop was to pass, he caused to be covered with mats, for an extent of one hundred and fifty miles; whilst myriads of his subjects testified their reverence by the humblest prostrations, and followed the prelate with loud acclamations. This bishop divided the city of St. Salvadore into parishes, appointed proper pastors for each, and regulated the several districts of the missionaries throughout the kingdom.

Don Pedro dying without children, left the crown to his brother Don Francisco, a prince worthy of being his successor, being possessed of the same excellent qualities, and in particular of his sincere and exemplary zeal for the Christian religion. Don Francisco, A. D. 1530.

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A. D. 1532. however, reigned only two years, and died very much regretted by his subjects. His cousin, Don Diego, ascended the throne, and sent a splendid embassy to the Portuguese monarch, informing him of the state of Christianity in his dominions, and requesting that more missionaries might be sent to Congo. This prince endeavoured by every method to oblige the Portuguese: he conformed himself to their manners, and imitated their luxurious mode of life; he adorned his palace with sumptuous furniture, which he procured from Europe; and he dressed in the most splendid apparel. He died without children, after a reign of eight years, during which period Christianity was greatly diffused throughout his dominions. A. D 1540.

The Portuguese, who had now become very numerous and powerful, through the indulgences they had experienced in several successive reigns, induced by the circumstance of the king's dying without issue, took upon them to fill the throne with a person of their own choice. This bold and daring attempt did not fail of alarming the whole kingdom. The princes of the blood, the governors of the provinces, and the rest of the Congoese nobility, justly considered it as an open avowal of the intention of the Portuguese to subvert their constitution and government, and to reduce the whole nation to the most abject slavery. Tired, therefore, with indignation at the insult which was offered to their liberty, they took up arms, and attacking the Portuguese with fury, exterminated every one who had joined in the conspiracy; excepting only the clergy and missionaries, though it is probable they

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were the very persons who had originally advised the obnoxious measure. The natives having, by this terrible massacre, secured their liberty and independence, proceeded to the election of a new king; and the states being assembled for that purpose, they made choice of Don Henriquez, who was accordingly raised without opposition. This prince is said to have been a brother of the late king, Don Diego, who, for certain political reasons, though sensible of his great valour and many excellent qualities, kept him confined at a distance from court, and sequestered from public affairs. His reign, however, was short and inglorious. Soon after his election to the throne, he was engaged in a war against the Anzicans, in which being defeated, he died of grief.

Don Henriquez was succeeded in the kingdom by his son, Alvarez the first, who was a wise and brave prince, a zealous Christian, and in every respect deserving a happier and more prosperous reign than he enjoyed. The first object of the newly elected monarch was to send a solemn and formal embassy to Don Sebastian, king of Portugal, to excuse and extenuate the late massacre of the Portuguese. The ambassador of the king of Congo exposed in proper colours to the court of Lisbon the atrocious attempt made to subvert their constitution and government; represented the odium which had been excited against the Portuguese, by their pride, avarice, and tyrannical conduct; and supported his assertions by such irrefragable evidence, that Don Sebastian, who was on the point of sending a powerful army to revenge the slaughter of his subjects, was

A. D. 1542.

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easily persuaded to listen to the terms of reconciliation, and to live in peace and friendship with Alvarez and his people.

This storm was no sooner dissipated, than the Congoese monarch found himself and his kingdom threatened with a fresh calamity. This was an irruption of the Giagas, who invaded his dominions on all sides, and, before a sufficient army could be raised to hinder their devastations, put all to fire and sword, without the least distinction. Alvarez seeing himself unable to stem the torrent, which deluged and laid waste his territories, retired with his court to an island in the Zaire, where a grievous famine and pestilence attacked and destroyed great numbers of his followers. The next year proved still more dreadful and afflicting: the whole harvest was devoured by the locusts, which covered the ground in such swarms, that they left neither blade of grass, nor grain of corn remaining; and consumed the very leaves and barks of trees. By these complicated calamities, the people were reduced to such distress, that parents were under the necessity of decimating their children, and of selling some to support the rest.

The king of Portugal being informed that there were several rich and valuable mines of gold and silver in Congo, sent proper and experienced persons into that kingdom, who were commanded to make a diligent search, and to give him an exact and faithful account of them. Alvarez, however, being dissuaded by his father confessor from suffering these mines to be discovered, lest the disclosure of them should tempt the Portuguese monarch to make himself

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master of the whole kingdom, directed the artists into other provinces where neither silver nor gold was to be found. Disappointed in the expectations they had formed, Sebastian and his subjects entirely changed their behaviour towards the Congoese, and left them in no doubt what had been the principal object of the zeal and attention, which the Portuguese had hitherto manifested. The wealthy merchants abandoned the dominions of Congo, and the commerce of that country fell into ruin and decay. The splendid embassies to the court of Lisbon experienced a cold and formal reception; and the most earnest and unwearied entreaties of Alvarez for a fresh supply of missionaries, who might revive the spirit of religion, which was become almost extinct, were only answered by promises and delays. Christianity daily decreased; whilst licentiousness and apostacy acquired strength, and gained new proselytes and promoters. The king, worn out with cares and disappointments, was 'gathered to his fathers,' and left the crown to his son, Alvarez the second.

The newly elected sovereign, not discouraged by the ill success which had attended the several embassies of his father to the court of Portugal, renewed the same requests, immediately after his accession to the crown. Philip the second, who at that time swayed both the sceptres of Spain and Portugal, listened to the entreaties of Alvarez, and obtained from the pope, a bishop for the kingdom of Congo, who was conveyed thither soon after, accompanied by several ecclesiastics and missionaries of different orders. These being dispersed through the kingdom, by

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their indefatigable zeal, restored Christianity to its former state, in a fewer number of years than, considering the extreme decay of religion, and the many difficulties they had to surmount, could reasonably have been expected. The success of their preaching also tended to suspend, if not to suppress, the numerous revolts which happened under every monarch; insomuch that Alvarez had the satisfaction of witnessing the surprising progress of Christianity, and of enjoying a quiet and peaceable reign during a space of twenty-seven years.

A. D. 1614. On the demise of the monarch, Bernard, his eldest son, succeeded to the throne; but he had scarcely reigned one year, before he was killed in a duel by his brother Alvarez the third, or, as others say, assassinated by him; who was immediately proclaimed king of Congo, and assumed the name of Alvarez the third. One of the first cares of the new sovereign was to exculpate himself from being accessary to the death of the late monarch. He, therefore, ordered a church to be erected on the field of battle, and on the very spot where his brother fell; and as soon as he was healed of the wounds, which he had received in the engagement, attended by a numerous retinue, he assisted in the work himself.

The monarch's example was followed by his attendants, and the succeeding day by the queen, at the head of her court, accompanied by several of the Portuguese nobility. Alvarez the third died in the seventh year of his

A. D. 1622. reign, greatly regretted by his subjects, and by foreigners who enjoyed very extensive privileges under his government. He

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is said to have been a wise and virtuous prince, a zealous promoter of Christianity, a lover of his country and people, and the friend and patron of strangers.

He was succeeded in the kingdom by his son, Don Pedro the second, who reigned only two years, but in that period had an opportunity of displaying his wisdom, moderation, and justice. An open rupture having taken place between the natives and Portuguese, both appealed to arms, and the latter were defeated. The nobility and chief officers of the kingdom unanimously expressed their resentment against these foreigners, and insisted that they should be expelled the territory of Congo without trial or delay. The king, however, would not consent to this precipitate measure, but having made a full and impartial enquiry into the matter, was convinced that his subjects had acted unjustly, and were the aggressors. He, therefore, gave the Portuguese fresh assurances of his favour and protection, and reconciled them with the natives. This prince also died much regretted by his subjects.

Don Pedro was succeeded by Don Garzia, of whom, whether he was a son, or a relation of the deceased monarch, it is unknown. He was a prince of great virtues and abilities, and was much esteemed by his subjects; but his reign was equally short with that of his predecessor, and he died in the second year after his accession to the throne. His successor, Don Ambrosio, is said to have been a pious and benevolent monarch; but his government was also

A. D. 1624.

A. D. 1626.

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A. D. 1631. of short duration. On the demise of this king, Alvarez the fourth ascended the throne, of whom we read of nothing worthy of notice, excepting that he was the son of Alvarez the third. He was succeeded by Alvarez the fifth, whose reign was unfortunate and of short duration. The king having entertained unjust suspicions of the duke of Bamba, and of the marquis of Chiona, his brother, they were obliged to raise forces, and to unite in their own defence. A decisive battle was fought, in which the royal army was defeated, and the king taken prisoner. The two brothers, however, instead of abusing their victory, and putting the vanquished monarch to death, as is the usual custom of barbarous nations, confined him in one of their palaces, and treated him with the greatest respect. At length, in order to prove to the king their inviolable fidelity and attachment to his person, they conveyed him on a hammock to his capital, which, with all the insignia of royalty, they restored to him. The savage and ungrateful Alvarez, instead of being reconciled by this singular mark of loyalty and respect, became more incensed against them; and, considering it disgraceful to be indebted to his subjects for his crown and his life, he was no sooner restored to the throne, than he levied another army, with which he marched against the two brothers. The engagement was long and bloody, and the victory for some time doubtful. At length, however, the royal forces were totally defeated, and vast numbers of them slain, among whom was the king himself. The duke of Bamba was unanimously chosen sovereign of Congo, pro-

A. D. 1636.

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claimed accordingly amidst the acclamations of the people, and assumed the name of the deceased monarch.

Alvarez the sixth was a wise and pious prince, but he was scarcely seated on the throne, when he was assassinated by his brother, the marquis of Chiona, who was called Don Garzia. Appearing with an armed force, he so intimidated the electors, that not only were all reproaches respecting his enormous and unnatural crime entirely suppressed, but he was chosen, without opposition, king of Congo. A. D. 1641. In the beginning of his reign he gave great hopes, on account of his ability in governing, and of his justice and zeal for religion. These virtues, however, were soon effaced by his ambition. He conceived the design of securing the crown to his eldest son, Don Alphonso, without election, and contrary to the laws of the country. He began, therefore, with persecuting all the princes of the blood, who, in preference to him and the duke of Bamba, had a right to the crown, which by the victory of the two brothers had been transferred to a foreign family, or, at least, to a distant branch of that on the throne. Don Garzia put to death all these unfortunate persons, whom he could discover. These cruelties discovered the ambitious designs of the monarch, and failed not to alarm the states of the empire; but none of them had the courage to expostulate with him on the vileness of his conduct. The catholic priests, however, ventured to represent to him the guilt and danger of these proceedings; but the repulse they experienced soon cooled the zeal of many, and the rest became objects of his

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hatred and resentment. The king perceiving that he grew daily more odious and detestable to his subjects, had recourse to soothsayers, sorcerers, and magicians, who had obtained an ascendancy, during the period in which the Portuguese had deprived Congo of missionaries. These impostors finding that Don Alphonso was strongly attached to Christianity, inspired the father with suspicions against him. Without allowing time for hearing the defence of his son, Don Garzia convened the states of the empire, and declared Don Alphonso unworthy and incapable of succeeding him in the kingdom, and caused his son Antonio to be elected and crowned sovereign of Congo.

A.D. 1663.

Don Antonio had no sooner finished the obsequies, than he began to execute the dying commands of his father. He ordered his eldest brother, Alphonso, to be put to death in a cruel manner, and refused him the rites of sepulture. The nobles and officers of his kingdom, of whom he entertained the least suspicion of disrespect or disaffection, underwent the same fate. At length he proceeded to such excesses of cruelty, that he could scarcely procure servants or slaves to attend him. The catholic priests remonstrated against these enormities, and also against the incestuous marriage which he had contracted with one of his relations. Indignant at the opposition he received from men who had become odious to him, he deprived the clergy of their property, and threatened to exterminate all the Portuguese in his dominions. The latter resolving to be in readiness, revived their former demands on the gold and silver mines, and de-

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clared they were resolved to take possession of them by force of arms. Don Antonio, in order to prevent such a measure, levied an army of five hundred thousand men. He then consulted the diviners and magicians, and offered sacrifices to render their pretended deities favourable and propitious. The soothsayers assured him of victory, and that, accompanied by an escort of the Portuguese lords, he should enter in triumph the city of St. Paul de Loando, the metropolis of Angola, whither he was marching his troops. Both armies soon after engaged, and the Portuguese, who amounted only to about four thousand men, so grievously annoyed the enemy, that great numbers of them dispersed and fled, and the rest were dreadfully slaughtered. The king, who had posted himself on an eminence to observe the battle, was surrounded and slain, and his head was carried in triumph to the capital: an entrance very different from what had been predicted by his soothsayers. All that is known respecting his successors, Alvarez the seventh, and Alvarez the eighth, does not appear to merit a place in history; but the Portuguese after a length of time obtained the power of new-modelling the government, and of electing a king.

SECTION III.

Angola.

ANGOLA, which is also called by the natives Dombo, is bounded on the north by Congo, on the east by Matemba, on the south by Benguela, and on the west by the ocean. The

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most considerable rivers in this kingdom, are the Dande and Coanza. It is, however, in general, well watered; and the soil is fertile, and yields various sorts of grain, pulse, and fruits; and the country is enriched with mines of silver, copper, and other metals. The dress and external appearance of the natives greatly resemble those of the inhabitants of Congo. In their dispositions they are intolerably indolent; and their manner of living is indelicate and rude; the flesh of dogs is preferred to that of any other animal, and they fatten these creatures, and publicly expose them for sale. The natives of Angola are divided into four classes: the nobility; those denominated children of the kingdom, who are principally tradesmen and artificers; the slaves of the grandees; and the captives taken in war, who are reduced to servitude.

Polygamy is allowed in this kingdom in its utmost latitude, and is practised even by those who make open profession of Christianity. The first wife, however, is esteemed superior to the rest. The mother of a child is not permitted to cohabit with her husband till its teeth begin to appear: when the friends and relations of both sexes carry the infant in their arms from house to house, accompanied with vocal and instrumental music, and solicit some trifling gift for the child, which is seldom refused. The common rules of domestic economy are reversed in this country: the men stay at home and employ themselves in spinning and weaving; whilst the women transact all the business of the field, and provide for the wants of the families.

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In their funeral solemnities, they carefully wash the body, and decorate the deceased with collars, bracelets, and new cloaths. The defunct is then carried into a kind of vault, and placed in a sitting posture, on a heap of earth raised for that purpose. The more opulent throw various weapons and utensils into the grave, and conclude the ceremony with sprinkling the ground with blood, and with libations of wine made in remembrance of their deceased friends.

Angola was formerly a part of the kingdom of Congo, and was governed by a deputy under the monarchs of that country; but it was afterwards made a free and independent state, and the deputies became sovereigns, and were sufficiently powerful to compel those princes to live in friendship with them, without paying tribute or allegiance. The kings of Angola were little inferior to those of Congo, when the Portuguese were admitted into their territories. The latter, however, have wrested from them a great part of their dominions, and abridged them of their wealth and power; but they do not appear to possess that unlimited authority, which they hold in Congo; nor are they able to prevent the Dutch and English from trading with the natives.

The principal articles imported into this country, are silks, velvets, Turkey carpets, wines, brandy, knives, pins, needles, fire-arms, cutlasses, and various other martial weapons, which are given in exchange for slaves. The religion of this kingdom formerly consisted of the same idolatrous and superstitious worship as that of Congo. But after the Portuguese

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had fixed themselves in several parts of this country, they solicited the courts of Rome and Madrid for missionaries and priests, who readily consented to labour in so plentiful a vineyard. These being dispersed through the several provinces, preached to the idolatrous natives with such zeal and success, that, in the space of ten years, twenty thousand persons were converted to Christianity. Since that time, their numbers have continued to increase, and the kings of Portugal, and the popes of Rome, have constantly sent fresh missionaries into this country. New churches have been also erected in the provinces subject to the crown, and are maintained out of the royal treasury; and the governor of the district obliges every lord to have in his jurisdiction a chapel, in which to say mass, and to baptize.

This kingdom is divided into provinces, on the chiefs of which is imposed a tribute, which is in proportion to the extent, wealth, and fertility of the respective districts. Among such a number of governors, some are hereditary and others elective; the subjects of the former are kept under better regulations, and more strict discipline, while those of the latter are generally imperious, and refuse to submit to the least reproof. The military state of Angola and Congo is nearly the same. The troops of this country, which are all infantry, are a sort of national militia, in which every man capable of bearing arms is enrolled. They seldom appear before their commanders, excepting when an expedition is undertaken, and then assemble in prodigious multitudes. Nor are those who are kept for the service of the Portuguese, better dis-

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ciplined than the rest; insomuch that though the king of Angola can raise an army of four or five thousand men, this numerous body of troops would be easily broken and discomfited by a very few regular soldiers. In an engagement, they are generally divided into three squadrons; and the general, who is in the centre, directs their motions by the sound of warlike instruments. The soldiers attack the enemy with loud shouts, and in appearance with much fury; but if any accident, or panic, happen to disconcert them, neither the general, nor his instruments can rally them, or bring them back to the charge. All the drums and trumpets of Africa could not drown the horrible outcries of an army when flying. The officers fight naked to the girdle, but hang about their neck several links of iron, to which are fastened rings; and they have bells depending from the waist. This dress, they think, inspires the soldiers with ardour, and gives the commander an appearance of pomp and grandeur. Their weapons are the bow, sword, target, and dagger.

St. Paul de Loanda, which is the capital of this kingdom, the residence of the sovereign, and one of the most considerable settlements of the Portuguese on this side of Africa, is situated on the Isle of Loando, which is twelve miles in length, and three quarters of a mile in breadth, and is in eight degrees and forty-five minutes of south latitude.

The first governor who shook off the yoke of Congo, and erected this province into a separate and independent kingdom, was called Angola. Being an ambitious person, and having become wealthy and powerful by the reduction of seve-

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ral of the neighbouring states, he was easily induced to undertake this measure. In order, however, to prevent the king of Congo from entertaining any suspicions of his design, which might have disconcerted his views, he continued to send to that monarch the usual annual tribute, till he thought himself seated firmly on the throne, when he took off the mask, and assumed the regal title. What, however, greatly facilitated his measures, was a war, in which the king of Congo was at that time engaged with the Giagas, who had made inroads into his dominions, and against whom he was obliged to request the assistance of Angola, as a friend and ally. The two monarchs continued ever after on the most amicable terms, rendering assistance to each other, and encouraging a mutual commerce between the two nations. Angola lived to a very advanced age, and was highly respected by his subjects; but in what year his reign commenced, or terminated, no author has been able to ascertain; though it must have taken place after the discovery of this country by the Portuguese.

The king had a great number of wives and concubines, one of whom, on account of her prudence and economy, he made his chief queen. He had no son, but three daughters by her; to the eldest of whom, named Zunda Riangola, he endeavoured to secure the succession. Angola being grown very old and infirm, communicated his project to his prime minister, a favourite slave, whom he had raised to that dignity for his services and abilities. The artful and ambitious minister failed not to applaud and approve the intention of the monarch, though

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his principal design was to supplant the princess, and to seize the throne. Accordingly, taking an opportunity when the court was employed in sowing the lands, he spread a report that some enemies had penetrated into the dominions of Angola. This rumour being confirmed by several of his partizans, was universally believed, and every one prepared to flee for safety. In this confusion, the treacherous minister conducted the princess to the royal palace, and acquainted the monarch with the pretended danger. The king in great trepidation, and unable to stir from his bed, begged him to take some steps for his safety; upon which, the minister, who was young and vigorous, took Angola on his shoulders, and conveyed him into a neighbouring wood, under pretence of saving him from the fury of the enemy; but he was no sooner out of the sight of those that accompanied him, than setting down his royal master, he drew a dagger, and plunged it to his heart. Many of the nobles of the kingdom immediately appeared in arms against him; but finding his party very powerful, they suffered him to ascend the throne without opposition, on his declaring that he only intended to secure it for Zunda Riangola. The young princess, though she readily penetrated the whole of his design, thought proper to dissemble her sentiments, and seemingly to acquiesce in his measures. Several years, however, elapsed without the performance of his promise, or any attempt of her to dethrone him. But, at length, the usurper died suddenly, and the young princess was acknowledged and crowned queen of Angola.

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Zunda Riangola having assumed the diadem, resolved not to marry, that she might have no rival near the throne. The same mistrust, however, inspired her with sentiments of jealousy towards the two sons of her sister Munda, who, as the presumptive heirs of the crown, were become the hope of the kingdom. Apprehensive that her subjects, weary of being governed by a woman, would place one of them on the throne, she suffered continual uneasiness, and resolved to have them destroyed. She, therefore ordered them to be brought to court, under pretence of having them educated as her own children, and heirs of the crown. The eldest, however, had scarcely arrived, when she caused him to be sacrificed to her jealousy. The horror which seized the parents of the illustrious youth, at the report of his assassination, was excessive, and they immediately sallied forth at the head of their vassals, with an intention of surprising the queen. They found her, however, prepared to receive them, at the head of a numerous body of forces; but the troops of the queen quickly gave way, and abandoned her to their resentment. The mother of the deceased youth rushed on her unnatural sister, and having plunged a dagger to her heart, commanded the body to be torn to pieces. The states of Angola immediately offered to place her and her husband on the throne of that empire: but they refused that honour, and conferred the crown on their second son Angola Chilvágni.

This prince was a great warrior, and soon enlarged the ancient dominions of the empire, by the conquest of several considerable provinces

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on the eastern and southern frontiers. His fame became so great that powerful nations submitted at his approach, and were proud of fighting under his banners. He had a great number of wives, and many sons, whom he placed in the governments of the provinces he conquered. He died highly regretted by his people, and was succeeded by one of his younger sons, named Dambi Angola. This prince had no sooner ascended the throne, than becoming apprehensive that his brothers would unite against him, in favour of the eldest, he resolved to adopt the inhuman and too frequent expedient of putting them to death. This design, however, could not be carried into effect with such secrecy, but that two of the princes received notice of the king's intentions, and escaped into a distant part of the country. Dambi was a monster of perfidy, cruelty, and avarice; and his subjects esteemed it fortunate, that his reign was of short duration. His funeral, nevertheless, was performed with as much magnificence and ostentation, as if he had been the best of monarchs; and a mount was erected over his grave, consisting, according to the barbarous custom of the country, of a number of human victims, immolated to the manes of the deceased sovereign.

He was succeeded in the kingdom by Angola Chilvagni the second, a warlike and liberal prince, but ambitious of glory. He made the most dreadful and destructive inroads into the frontiers of Congo, the rivers of which were tinged with the blood of myriads, whom he massacred in these excursions. The generosity he exercised, however, towards those that submitted themselves to his mercy, induced the

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governors of the territories which he was about to enter, to send deputies to meet him, who acknowledged him as their sovereign, and implored his favour and protection. His surprising success, added to the extravagant praises which his parasites failed not to bestow upon him, had such an effect, and rendered him so vain, that he began to fancy himself one of the deities of the country, and, therefore, required that divine honours should be paid him. He was, however, compelled to submit to the common fate of mortals, and died childless.

His successor Ngingha Angola was a prince of cruel and tyrannical disposition, and, under the pretence of justice, exercised the greatest severities. His subjects, however, were soon delivered from his cruelties and oppression. Death put a speedy period to his existence, and his reign; and he was buried with the usual pomp and solemnities, and had a whole hecatomb of human victims slain upon his grave. Bandi Angola, his son, was even more cruel than his father, and carried his inhumanity so far, that he rendered himself odious and detestable to his subjects. A general revolt ensued, in which the Angolese requested the assistance of the neighbouring Giagas. These, like a band of cannibals, hasted to their aid, as to a splendid banquet, and besieged the tyrant upon an inaccessible mountain, where they hoped to reduce him by famine. In this emergency, the monarch applied for succour to the king of Congo, whose interest and policy it was, to prevent these barbarians from entering the dominions of Angola, from whence they might easily pass into his own. That prince, therefore, hesitated not to render

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him speedy and effectual aid, but commanded a powerful body of Portuguese to march to his assistance. Accordingly, they attacked the Giagas with such irresistible fury, that they were quickly routed, and the rebels were reduced to obedience and submission.

Bandi Angola finding himself thus freed from danger, and peace and tranquillity restored to his dominions, was so affected with this signal service of the Portuguese, that he received them into his dominions, and even made them members of his privy council. But the princess, the king's daughter, becoming enamoured of the Portuguese general, the monarch formed the resolution of extirpating them. This design was not concerted with such secrecy, but that the princess received information of the plot, and communicated the same to her lover. The general finding himself unable to oppose the whole force of the kingdom, deemed it proper and expedient to retire with his countrymen to Congo, whither they arrived in safety without molestation. He then set sail for Portugal, and related to the court of Lisbon the plan he had formed for reducing Angola, and the specious pretence which the treachery and ingratitude of that prince afforded for invading his dominions. This matter was highly approved by the king and council, and an armament was immediately prepared for the expedition, the chief command of which was vested in the general. Accordingly, they set sail, and landing in Angola, strongly fortified themselves in an advantageous situation, on the banks of the Coanza.

These circumstances being reported to Bandi, he assembled his troops, and engaged the enemy.

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The Portuguese, however, soon routed and dispersed the king's forces, and ravaged the whole country with fire and sword. The monarch escaped to an inaccessible retreat, from which he was induced to remove by a stratagem of his own subjects. They sent deputies to inform him of the revolt of a certain governor, who, at the head of a numerous body of forces, committed dreadful devastations, and to request permission of his majesty, that they might levy a sufficient number of troops for suppressing the rebellious chieftain. This proposal was very acceptable to the king, who immediately granted their request. Four days after, they sent to acquaint him, that they had attacked the rebels, and suffered a repulse; but that, if his majesty would condescend to honour them with his presence, the very sight of him would inspire the soldiers with fresh courage. The king, therefore, without any other escort than his guards, marched to head his troops, which were encamped on the banks of the Lucalla. He was no sooner come within sight of the army, than the principal officers went forth to meet him, as if to pay their respects to the monarch; by which means, having separated him from his guards, and surrounded him on all sides, they attacked and put him to death.

He left five children, one of which was an infant by a favourite concubine, and the other four, consisting of a son and three daughters were by a female slave. The first was deemed incapable of succeeding to the throne, on account of the infidelity of the mother; and according to the laws of the realm, the latter children could not inherit the crown, because

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of the servile state of their parents. By means of intrigue, however, Ngola Mbandi, the son of the slave, was raised to the throne, and acknowledged as sovereign. For this dignity he was chiefly indebted to his sisters, Zingha, Cambi, and Fungi, who by their excellent qualities, and well-timed liberality, had gained a powerful party among the great, and acquired the affection of the people. The first measure of the newly elected monarch was to endeavour to bring about a reconciliation with the Portuguese; and for this purpose he made choice of his sister Zingha. In order that she might succeed better in the negociation, he advised her to embrace the Christian religion, as a circumstance that could not fail of entitling her to the favour and confidence of the Portuguese. This council she followed, and was sent with a magnificent retinue, as plenipotentiary to the viceroy, who, on his part, received her with all the distinction due to her character, and lodged her in a splendid palace.

On entering the hall of audience, she was surprised to observe a magnificent chair placed for the viceroy, and opposite to it, on the floor, a superb carpet and velvet cushion for her. She concealed her displeasure, however, with great presence of mind, and beckoned to one of her female attendants, who immediately fell on her knees on the carpet, and leaning on her hands, presented her back to her mistress. Zingha placed herself upon it, and remained in that situation during the whole conference. The Portuguese offered to enter into a treaty of alliance with the king of Angola, on condition that he would acknowledge himself a vassal of the crown

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of Portugal, and pay an annual tribute to that court. To this the princess replied with much indignation; "These conditions are fit to be proposed to a people conquered by the force of arms, but not to a powerful monarch, who gratuitously solicits the friendship and alliance of the Portuguese." Zingha obtained her purpose: the treaty was concluded, without any other conditions than the exchange of prisoners. The audience being finished, the viceroy conducted the princess out of the hall, and observing to her that the lady, on whom she had sat, continued still in the same posture, requested she would order her to rise. Zingha replied, "It does not become the ambassadress of a great prince to make use twice of the same chair: I leave her to you."

The princess was so captivated with the politeness of the Portuguese, and the honours paid to her, that she continued for some time at Loanda San Paulo, their capital. She was also pleased with observing the order, arms, and various evolutions of their troops. During the period of her remaining in that city, she consented to be instructed in the principles of Christianity, to which she seemed so much attached, that whether from policy or taste she caused herself to be baptized. On her return, her brother requested the viceroy to send proper persons, who might teach him also the doctrines of the Christian religion, which, he said, he was desirous of embracing. Missionaries accordingly arrived, and were kindly received by the king, who seemed to approve of the principles of the gospel; but when the priests advised him to be baptized, he peremptorily refused, and commanded them

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to return to the Portuguese. Zingha tried every possible means to dissuade him from an action which could not fail of exciting the anger and resentment of the viceroy, but in vain. The monarch also, instead of ratifying the treaty, which had been concluded by his sister, determined to renew the war with the Portuguese, and to invade their territories. These tergiversations proved his ruin. His troops were defeated, and himself obliged to swim for safety to a small island, whither the Portuguese pursued him. Being surrounded by his enemies, he seemed to have no other alternative, than to fall into their hands, or to be devoured by wild beasts, with which the place abounded. He was, however, speedily relieved from both by a dose of poison, which, as was believed, some of his attendants administered to him, by order of his sister Zingha. He had, however, sent his son to a chief of the Giagas, whom he besought to take him under his care and protection.

No sooner was Zingha in possession of the throne, than she tried every means to corrupt the person to whom her nephew had been intrusted, and protested that she accepted the crown with no other view, than to place it on his head, as soon as she found him capable of assuming the reins of government. The chief of the Giagas being fully apprised of her character, disregarded these pretences and protestations, and for a considerable time resisted her repeated solicitations, that the young prince should be sent her. At length, however, wearied with her intreaties, the too credulous Giaga became persuaded that there could be no danger in consenting to a short interview with the queen, A. D. 1627.

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and the unfortunate youth accordingly waited upon her, attended by a suitable retinue. Zingha received him at first with such apparent tenderness and affection, as removed all cause of fear and suspicion; but no sooner was the prince entirely in her power, than she stabbed him with her own hand, and commanded his body to be thrown into the Coanza.

The next attempt of the queen was directed towards effecting the deliverance of the kingdom from the Portuguese, who had become so numerous, wealthy, and powerful, that they were dreaded by all her subjects. They had got into their hands the most beautiful part of Angola; an usurpation she was as little disposed to suffer, as she was to confine herself within the province of Metamba, the only possession they seemed willing to allow her. Being of a martial temper, Zingha did not hesitate to enter into a war with the Portuguese; and she only delayed to declare it, till she had made the necessary preparations, and strengthened herself by alliances with the Giagas and other idolatrous nations, who equally hated those strangers, and readily entered into her measures. She also concluded a treaty with the Dutch, and the king of Congo, who promised to assist her with a number of troops. With this combined force she attacked the Portuguese so suddenly and unexpectedly, that she gained some slight advantages over them.

The successes of the queen, however, were of short duration. The Dutch were obliged to retire; and the king of Congo suffered such a defeat, that he was compelled to sue for peace. Insomuch that the Portuguese having no other enemy to contend with, than Zingha and a few

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idolatrous nations, found no difficulty in reducing her to the greatest extremity: every battle fought against her was doubly fatal to the queen, by obliging some of her friends to withdraw their forces, and by diminishing the number of her own troops. Defeat followed defeat so closely, that, at length, she found herself abandoned not only by her allies, but also by her own subjects; and was under the necessity of abdicating the throne, and of retiring out of her dominions into the eastern deserts. The Portuguese now entertained hopes, that they should oblige her to comply with their wishes, and, therefore, left her for some time to consider her desperate circumstances. At length they sent her some proposals of peace, in which they engaged to replace her on the throne, provided she agreed to certain conditions, that would have rendered her a tributary vassal to the king of Portugal, and so dependant on the governors and their deputies, that she could only have possessed the shadow of royalty. She, therefore, rejected their proposals with scorn and indignation, and replied: "My people may wear chains, if they are base enough to suffer them to be imposed on them; as for me, I will never be dependant on a foreign power." This answer and the resolution of the queen were not altogether unexpected. To render her condition more desperate, they appointed king of Angola a person chosen from among the princes of the royal family, and whom they obliged to be baptized, before they crowned him. He was accordingly converted to Christianity, and assumed the name of John, in honour of the king of Portugal, to whom he was a tributary vassal. John the first did not long

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enjoy his imaginary dignity. He lived only a short time; and his death was supposed to have been occasioned by the harsh treatment of the Portuguese.

On the demise of the late king, another prince called Philip was raised to the throne, who accepted the crown on the same conditions as had been imposed on his predecessor. He was very submissive to the Portuguese, and particularly zealous in maintaining and propagating Christianity. In the mean time, Zingha, highly exasperated to find herself deprived of her finest provinces, and to see another thrust into her place, threw herself in despair into the hands of the Giagas; and conceived such an aversion towards the Portuguese and their religion, that she openly renounced Christianity, and adopted that of the pagans, with all their superstitious rites and inhuman sacrifices. She was elected their chief, and became more ferocious than their *singhillos*, or priests. Such was the influence and authority of Zingha over the people that composed her monarchy, that they were ready, at the first indication of her will, to encounter every danger, and to follow her on the most hazardous enterprize. In this mutual confidence, she made many strenuous and daring attempts to dislodge the Portuguese from their fortresses; but what could myriads of such naked and undisciplined troops perform, when opposed to the fire from the ramparts and artillery? Finding, therefore, that all efforts of this kind were vain and fruitless, she employed her forces in making continual inroads into their provinces; ravaged the level country with the fury of a ferocious animal; massacred and burnt, plundered and de-

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stroyed, wherever she went; and having retired, loaded with booty, she quickly re-appeared, though supposed to be at a considerable distance.

This war continued many years. Zingha suffered several defeats and experienced many losses; but her valour and prudence always assisted her in repairing them. Hitherto, the Portuguese had in vain endeavoured to reduce the queen by force of arms, or to reconcile her by means of promises and presents: she rejected the one with disdain, and eventually succeeded against the other; and would listen to no terms, unless they consented to resign all their conquests in Angola. Apprehensive, however, that Zingha would be able to induce a powerful chief of the Giagas, who had yet remained neutral, to unite his troops with those of the queen, the Portuguese sent an ambassador to her under a pretence of becoming mediators between her and her enemies. Imagining also that she was not absolutely averse to Christianity, they dispatched along with the ambassador, whose name was Don Gaspar Borgia, a learned priest called Don Antonio Coglio, who, while the former was treating in regard to political affairs, was to endeavour to revive in her mind those sparks of religion, which were supposed not to be altogether extinct.

On their arrival, they met with such a reception, as gave each of them hopes of success. But after the queen had heard them to the end of their speech, she assumed a haughty and imperious tone, and replied to the former, that it did not become her dignity to lay down her arms, till the war had been brought to an honourable conclusion; and that in respect to the Giagas,

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into whose sect she had been admitted, and with whom she had lived many years, they had furnished her with such a number of forces, that her interest and honour required she should always retain them in her service, and afford them protection and support. To the latter she answered, that she remembered extremely well she had formerly embraced Christianity, and been baptized; but that the time was not then proper for desiring her to change her sentiments and professions; and she requested they would recollect, that it was entirely owing to them that she had abjured their religion. Borgia perceiving that no change could be wrought in her sentiments of religion, took occasion to observe, that she had already gained sufficient honour in war, and that it was now time to think of giving peace and tranquillity to her subjects, and of accepting the proffered friendship and alliance of the king of Portugal. To this she only replied, that she was well aware of the strength and valour of the Portuguese, and should esteem it an honour to be allied to them; but that they certainly could have no claim to those dominions, of which she had been so unjustly deprived. Thus terminated the embassy, and the negociators returned without success, but not without hopes.

The war was carried on with redoubled fury, and with various turns of fortune, by both parties. In one engagement, Zingha was deprived of her two sisters, Cambi and Fungi, who were taken prisoners by the enemy; and she herself escaped with difficulty. Fungi abusing the permission that had been granted her of walking about the town, in which she was confined,

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bribed some malecontents to open the gates to the forces of her sister. This treason, however, being discovered before the time appointed for the execution of the plot, she was strangled by order of the Portuguese governor. The queen was sensibly affected with the death of her sister, and this being quickly succeeded by the defeat of her allies, and the total expulsion of the Dutch out of Angola, she considered herself as unfortunate, and became melancholy. The Portuguese viceroy, Don Salvador Correa, a man of great moderation and prudence, thought the moment favourable for overcoming, by kind offers, that spirit which could not be subdued by force. He, therefore, dispatched two Capuchin missionaries, men distinguished by their wisdom, who were charged to return her thanks for certain favours, which she had conferred on the Christians in her states, and to solicit a continuance of them. She gave them a gracious reception, and complied with their request. But when they represented to her the extreme guilt of her apostacy, and the danger she incurred by thus persevering, she seemed greatly agitated.

At length, fetching a deep sigh, the queen spoke as follows: "May God be merciful to a princess, who is injured in what she considers as most valuable. It is not by my own fault, but by that of another, that I am reduced to the state in which you now see me. I should not have been in this condition, I should not have felt the stings of remorse, more poignant than words can express, had I not been deprived of my just rights. Have compassion upon me, O my fathers! and pity my lamentable case! If

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I am driven into utter perdition, they are the occasion of it who have expelled me out of my dominions. I am sensible, that I have departed from the right way: but I must continue in my error, or I shall become the contempt and scorn of my subjects. I must also remain in it, till those usurpers restore every thing of which they have deprived me. Consider how unhappy I am to spend all my life in the tumult of arms, and in the midst of blood and slaughter. Pray then to God for me, that he would vouchsafe to break the chains with which I am loaded; because I am not sufficiently strong to do it myself. In that case I promise in the sight of the Almighty, that I will return to the religion, which I have been thus obliged to renounce, and that I will give you every encouragement and assistance in my power, to enable you to propagate and establish the same among my people."

The concluding words of the queen's speech, which was accompanied with tears, convinced the missionaries of the impossibility of bending the haughty and stubborn mind of this princess, so long as the Portuguese persisted in attempting to make her submit by force, and to pay the tribute and homage, which they wished to impose upon her. The viceroy, to whom they related the event of their mission, was also of the same opinion. Though opposed by the council, he relaxed in his pretensions; entered into a sincere negociation with Zingha; and, having restored to her some provinces, acknowledged her as the friend and ally, and not the subject and vassal, of Portugal. This open and generous conduct of the viceroy strongly affected this

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magnanimous princess: she also relaxed in the pretensions she had made on her part; granted with good will to the Portuguese what they could never have extorted from her by force; and was wholly occupied in thinking on and condemning the evil she had committed, particularly in regard to religion.

At this period the queen was seventy-five years of age, and therefore had little time remaining for any thing of that nature; but she, nevertheless, exerted herself with all the eagerness and enthusiasm of a young convert. She returned with the utmost sincerity into the bosom of the church, and in a premeditated harangue exhorted her subjects to imitate her example, and to be converted to Christianity. The attachment of the people to their sovereign was so great, that even this speech was received by the Giagas with almost universal acclamations; and no commotion ensued. The *singhillos*, indeed, murmured their disapprobation of the advice, but they durst not attempt to excite any disturbance among the people. Great numbers of her subjects voluntarily requested to be instructed in the doctrines, and baptized in the faith of Christianity; after which they were enjoined to avoid the conversation of idolaters. The queen then caused an edict to be published throughout her dominions, expressly forbidding the practice of idolatry, under the severest penalties. In order to restore marriage to an honourable estate, she consented to marry a young man of mean birth, who having enlisted into her service, had raised himself to considerable rank and eminence. Not content with shewing a good example in her own person, she obliged her sister Fungi, who

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was extremely averse to the measure, to subject herself to the same bond. In a word, by means of her persuasions and the endeavours of the Capuchins, the queen had the pleasure of seeing the generality of her people comply with the edict she had issued against polygamy; and those who did not conform to its injunctions, were severely punished. She also forbade mothers in future to expose their children, or to destroy them in any other manner.

As testimonies of the sincerity of the queen's conversion, we might be led to consider the many churches she built, and the immense riches with which she endowed them; but these were actions of less importance, and more equivocal in their nature, than the uninterrupted proof she exhibited of her piety, by the care she took to administer justice, to relieve the wants of her people, and to instruct them in the principles of Christianity. Whilst Zingha was employed in these laudable occupations, and in promoting the conversion of her subjects, she fell sick of a violent inflammation, and thinking that her end was approaching, sent for her confessor. She earnestly requested, that after her death he would see her corpse interred with proper solemnity, and that none of the detestable rites of the Giagas should be performed at her funeral. But, notwithstanding this prohibition, when the body was carried to the church, where it was to be delivered into the hands of the queen's ladies of honour, in order to be deposited in the vault, the dread of being buried alive with their deceased mistress became so strong in their minds, that they refused to perform this last service and immediately fled. As soon, however, as the grave

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was filled with earth, they returned, and spent the night in the church, mourning and lamenting, with the rest of the people, the death of their beloved sovereign; and their regret being founded in esteem, was sincere. All ranks and degrees of people were inspired with the same sentiments of sorrow and affection, and even those who continued in the religion of the Giagas, and were displeased at her conversion to Christianity, readily forgave her on account of her many excellent qualities. Zingha died in the eighty-second year of her age; and her death put an end to the empire.

Her sister Barbara, indeed, was raised to the throne; but that princess ruled with a feeble hand, and being worn out with age, disease, and grief, died, after a reign of two years and six months. The king appointed by the Portuguese, or rather they themselves, in the names of these princes, united under their dominion all the provinces which were possessed by Zingha. Tired, at length, of maintaining these phantoms of royalty, they converted Angola into one of their most useful colonies, and committed the command of the kingdom to a viceroy.

SECTION IV.

Loango.

THE kingdom of Loango formerly constituted a part of the empire of Congo, from which it was afterwards detached, and became a separate and independent dynasty, under a prince of its own. It extends along the African coast from the Cape of St. Catherine, under the second de-

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gree of south latitude, to the river Locando, in the fifth degree of the same hemisphere; and is situated between ten degrees thirty minutes, and fifteen degrees ten minutes of east longitude. Though this kingdom lies in the midst of the torrid zone, it is healthy and pleasant, being well watered by small streams, which intersect the whole country, and on the banks of which are abundance of towns and villages; but with regard to their population, elegance, or commerce, we are totally without information. The soil is extremely fertile, and capable of vast improvements; but the natives are constitutionally indolent, averse to the labour of agriculture, and seldom raise more grain than will supply the exigencies of the year. Indeed, they are commonly content with bread, fish, and such fruits as the ground spontaneously produces; so that when an unfavourable season happens, it is usually followed by all the horrors of famine.

The palm, banana, and other trees, produce excellent fruits, of which they make wines, which they prefer to those of Europe. The cotton and pimento trees grow wild, as well as the grain of paradise, sugar-canes, cassia, and tobacco, and a few cocoas, oranges, and lemons; but the most useful vegetable productions are those called anzanda, alicandi, and metamba, which afford materials to the natives for cloathing themselves, and covering their houses. The country abounds with few animals, except goats and hogs; but poultry is so cheap, that six-penny worth of beads will purchase thirty chickens. Pheasants, partridges, and other wild fowl, are still more numerous. Among the wild beasts, they have

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the zebra and the elephant; the teeth of which last animal are exchanged with the Europeans for iron.

Vast quantities of fish are caught on the coast; for which purpose they make use of carping irons. The natives are also said to watch a large fish, about the size of a grampus, that comes daily to feed along the shore, and drives before him a whole shoals of the smaller sort, which are then easily taken. They call these creatures sea-dogs; and, from their extreme utility, are deemed almost sacred. The natives, who are called Bramas, are a tall, stout, and well-proportioned set of people; they are friendly and generous to one another, but very libidinous and jealous. They exercise a variety of trades, but their mechanics are both tedious and unskilful. Their dress commonly consists of palm-leaves, but those who are poor, generally content themselves with the foliage of some more vulgar tree. From the young shoots of the palm, lopped off and dried, they obtain by friction a kind of flax, which being spun and wove, is hung round the body from the waist to the ancles: out of this they fabricate four sorts of cloth; the first, or richest, is variegated with party-coloured flowers, and is worn only by the king, or such of his nobles as are his particular favourites; the second, which is less fine, by the grandees; and the two other sorts by the middling rank of people. The body from the girdle to the head is naked, except being adorned with bracelets, chains, and necklaces, of various metals, or glass, according to the ability or taste of the wearer.

The men, who go always armed with a cutlass,

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sword, or bow, are also obliged to wear the skins of wild and tame cats, or of some other animal; five or six of which are sewed together, and being stuck full of the feathers of parrots, are suspended in front as a principal ornament. To the hems of these furs they hang a number of bells, which occasion a continual sound. The dress of the women is nearly the same, except the wearing of furs, and their petticoats are much shorter than the covering of the other sex; but the more opulent have some fine European silk, linen, woollen, or stuffs, thrown over them. They adorn their legs, arms, and heads, with various ornaments of gold, silver, and coral; and both sexes wear rings, which are considered as amulets; and they stain their bodies with a red kind of wood called takeel, which is bruised on a stone for that purpose.

Polygamy is allowed, and universally practised; many having ten or twelve, and none fewer than two wives. The consent of the parents, and the payment of the sum demanded for the bride, being all that are required, the forms of friendship are wholly unknown. Females, however, have but few inducements to enter into the matrimonial state, which, besides their being obliged to endure many rivals in the affections of their husband, reduces them to the most abject slavery: they till the ground, gather in the harvest, grind the corn, and perform every domestic duty. They stand at a proper distance, while their husbands eat, and are obliged to be satisfied with what they leave; and are not permitted to approach them, without exhibiting marks of submission and respect, or to address them but on their bended knees. To compleat also their

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infelicity, the women are liable to be turned out of doors by their husbands, upon the least suspicion of infidelity, and subject to the most severe inflictions without any actual proof of guilt. But though this be the servile and deplorable state of the married women of Loango, there is a law which obliges the children to follow the condition of their mothers; that is, they must continue slaves, if the mother were in a state of slavery, though the father himself should be free.

The children of the natives are white at the time of their birth; but in the space of two days assume the complexion of their parents; and there is a race of people in this country, the colour of whose faces resembles chalk, and who have grey eyes, apparently fixed in the sockets, without lustre or motion. These extraordinary persons possess the gift of vision only by night, and are regarded as monsters by the rest of the natives; though they are well received by the king, who causes them to be educated in all kinds of sorcery and divination, and keeps them continually about his court and person. They are called Dendos by the natives, and Albinos by the Portuguese; and are the chief persons employed in all religious affairs and superstitious ceremonies; but neither they nor the Loangoese in general have any adequate ideas of a Supreme Being. They seem, indeed, to acknowledge one under the name of Sambian Pongo; but they pay to him no adoration, nor attempt to define his attributes. All their worship and invocation are addressed to inferior deities; who, they imagine, direct the seasons, and rule the powers of nature. These are re-

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presented by them under various forms of men, women, or animals, and are set up in their houses, or carried in small boxes suspended from their necks.

The persons consecrated to the service of these imaginary deities, are generally advanced in years, and ordained by the Enganga Mokisso, or chief of the magicians, with a number of superstitious ceremonies; which are no sooner finished than the noviciate begins to look wild, distort his features, and put his body into attitudes, which excite horror and disgust. The Loangoese entertain various notions respecting the nature of the human soul; all of which, however, are extravagant and absurd. The royal family, in particular, imagine that those of their deceased friends transmigrate into the bodies of their posterity. Others suppose that they become guardian spirits, and therefore make little niches under the roofs of their houses, where they place images of the defunct; and some assign the soul a residence under the earth, where it is supposed to enjoy a kind of existence suited to its merit. It is, however, universally believed, that the Mokisso, or Spirit, to whom they were dedicated at their birth, has power to inflict punishment, and even death, on those who neglect the vows they have made, or the ceremonies which they have enjoined themselves. Accordingly, when a man is prosperous, he thinks that his Mokisso is satisfied with his conduct and services; but should matters become adverse and disastrous, he considers himself as having incurred the divine displeasure.

The Mokissos have a variety of temples, in each of which a priest performs service every

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morning, by striking a fleece of wool with his staff, and muttering a few words, to which a youth, who assists him, makes regular responses. After this ceremony, he addresses his petition to the Mokisso, and recommends to his care the health of the king, the prosperity of the country, the fertility of the land, and the success of their trade and fishery.

When a person of ordinary rank dies, his friends and neighbours set up a dreadful howl, crowd round the deceased, and carry the dead body into the open air, where they ask it the cause of its death, and whether it died for want of food, or by the effects of necromancy. These interrogations generally continue two or three hours; during which, some of the relations of the deceased are occupied in purifying and anointing the corpse, and staining it with red wood; whilst others are busied in preparing the grave, into which the body is thrown with several domestic utensils. The term of mourning is generally six weeks; during which period the relations of the defunct meet every morning and every evening at the place of interment, to bewail his death. On the slightest indisposition of a person of rank, the Engangas are immediately consulted whether his disease is caused by any enchantment; in which case, all sorts of counter-charms are made use of for effecting his recovery. But if none of them avail, and the patient die, they perform a number of pompous ceremonies round the corpse, and the females sing funeral dirges, in which they expatiate on the virtues of the deceased, and the baseness of his enemies. On the third day, the body is interred with the same ceremonies as those of the vulgar; but the mourning

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continues for three months, during which period the strictest inquiry is made whether his death was occasioned by any fascination.

They do not suffer the corpses of strangers to be buried, and oblige them to be conveyed two miles from the shore, and thrown into the sea. The cause of this inhospitable custom is said to have been as follows: a Portuguese gentleman happened to die and be buried in Loango; soon after which the inhabitants were visited by a dreadful famine in consequence of an excessive drought. The Mokissos being consulted relative to the occasion of this evil, replied, "that a Christian had been interred among them, whose body must be taken up, and cast into the sea, before rain could be obtained." The people immediately obeyed, and a plentiful rain falling soon after, they firmly believed that the calamity had been assigned to its true cause.

A governor of Loango having revolted from the king of Congo, whose subject and vassal he then was, had the address to raise himself to the dignity and power of an independent sovereign. One of his successors wrested several other provinces from the same monarch, and obtained divine honours. The kings of this country are still esteemed very powerful, and capable of bringing vast armies into the field; every subject able to bear arms being enrolled as a soldier, and obliged to appear whenever called upon. Their military arms are darts, daggers, and targets; the latter of which are sufficiently large to cover the whole body, and strong enough to repel any arrow or other missile weapon.

It is esteemed a capital offence to look at the king when he eats or drinks; for which reason

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the high steward has no sooner placed the meat before his majesty, than he retires, and locks the door after him, leaving the monarch to dine by himself. The nobles and attendants of the court wait in the antichamber till the king has finished his repast, when he usually adjourns to his drinking house. This is the most splendid apartment in the whole palace, is surrounded with a spacious court, inclosed with palisadoes of palm-trees; and is the place where the sovereign, seated on a royal throne, formed of fine black and white palmetto pillars curiously inlaid, administers justice to his subjects. On each side of the throne are placed two large osier baskets, in which the natives believe he keeps his lares, or familiar spirits, that guard and preserve his life. On each side of the monarch stands a cup-bearer, to one of whom he beckons for the cup, which is instantly presented to him; the other, in the mean time, holds two iron rods, which he strikes together, to give notice to the attending nobles that his majesty is about to drink. On this signal being given, all fall with their faces towards the ground, and continue in that situation, till the jingling noise ceases, when they immediately rise, and express their felicitation by the loud and repeated clapping of hands. As this hall is the place where the king hears causes, and discusses matters of importance, he frequently remains in it many hours; but if there be no affairs that require his personal attendance, he retires early to his seraglio, and spends the afternoon with some of his wives.

The monarch seldom stirs out of his palace, except on some grand festival or solemn occasion, or when his vassals come to pay him their

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annual tribute and homage. On these public exhibitions he repairs to a spacious plain, in the centre of which a splendid throne is raised, surrounded by vast numbers of attendants, and nothing is to be heard but the voice of congratulation and joy. The funeral obsequies of the kings of Loango are performed with much pomp and ceremony. They surround the seat on which the corpse is to be placed with images made of clay, wood, wax, or other materials, and which are to serve as the attendants of the deceased monarch in another world. The vaults are made sufficiently large to contain, besides the corpse, which is always arrayed in the most superb manner, a vast number of domestic utensils. With the king they also sometimes bury a few of his slaves, who are to bear witness, when they come before the sovereign of the other world, how their master has lived and conducted himself in this.

The crown does not descend to the children of the monarch, but to those of his elder brother or sister. This unusual mode of succession frequently occasions great confusion; though internal struggles for the throne are guarded against, by assigning those who are nearest to the succession, some particular town or village in the neighbourhood of Loango, the capital, and those who are more remote being obliged to reside at a proportionable distance. By these means, when the sovereign dies, the heir to the crown removes to the metropolis, and the others approach a stage nearer, according to their rank and proximity of blood, a new claimant being always nominated to succeed the most distant.

The laws of Loango are more lenient than

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those of the neighbouring states, except for crimes committed against the person, dignity or honour of the king. Theft is expiated by restitution, or by exposing the offender, tied to a tree, to the scorn and derision of the people. Adultery is punished with a fine; but if any of the monarch's wives be suspected as guilty of this crime, the lady and her paramour are condemned to the flames, and burned alive in sight of each other.

The city of Loango is situated in the province of Loango-mongo, in four degrees and a half of south latitude, and about five or six miles from the sea-coast, which forms a bay of the same name, and has rather a difficult and dangerous entrance. The houses are built of wood, and usually contain three or four rooms; but there is no apartment above the ground floor. Their principal furniture consists in a variety of pots and kettles, calabashes, baskets, and mats. The whole city is remarkable for its neatness and cleanliness; and the streets are shaded on each side with rows of palms, bananas, or bacavas, which afford an agreeable coolness to the neighbouring houses. In the centre is a square of immense extent, on one side of which stands the royal palace. This edifice, which is a mile and a half in circumference, consists of several detached buildings that form apartments for the wives and attendants of the king, as well as public offices and halls. In the neighbourhood of this square, the inhabitants hold a daily market, which contains great quantities of palm-cloth, corn, meal, poultry, fish, wine, and oil. They also formerly sold here a great abundance of elephants' teeth, but of late years the sale of this

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article has been removed to Kanga, the port of the capital. In this market stands a celebrated temple; and there is also an idol, called Mokisso à Loango, which is held in great veneration and esteem by persons of all ranks.

The commerce of this country consists principally in slaves. The natives also sell great quantities of ivory, tin, lead, iron, and copper, brought from the mines of Sundi, which are situated far to the east, and almost adjoin to the territories of Abyssinia. Those Europeans that intend to trade with the Loangoese, are obliged to obtain a licence from the king, by means of rich presents bestowed on the royal family and the favourites of the monarch. This renders commerce with these people very expensive; and their ignorance of the European languages makes it likewise difficult and tedious.

The trade which existed between this country and Congo, it was hoped, would have contributed to the conversion of the Loangoese to Christianity; and accordingly, they expressed an earnest desire that missionaries should be sent for that purpose. Even the kings, respected and idolized as they are by their own subjects, made several pressing instances to the monarchs of Congo and Angola, and the Portuguese viceroy, that proper persons might be dispatched to instruct them in the knowledge of the Christian faith. But the few teachers of Christianity that were in these parts, rendered it impossible to comply with their request.

The three kingdoms of Loango, Congo, and Angola, have been frequently subjected to the irruptions and devastations of the Giagas. The first chief under whom they invaded, and made

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themselves masters of a great part of this country, was called Zimbo. He first appeared at the head of a numerous body of people, collected, as was supposed, from the wilds of Africa, and who attended him in hopes of enriching themselves by plunder. With these he penetrated, without meeting any considerable opposition, into the centre of the empire, committing the most dreadful ravages, and leaving behind him marks only of desolation and ruin. One of these Giagan chiefs, named Quizzuva, a man no less brutal than warlike, caused a square before his habitation to be paved with the skulls and bones of those he had devoured. Presuming, however, to attack the Portuguese in one of their fortresses, the troops of this chieftain were defeated and obliged to seek safety by flight, and Quizzuva himself was left dead on the field of battle. Zimbo, in order to be revenged on the Portuguese for the disgrace which had thus attended the arms of the Giagas, marched his forces, and attacked them with great bravery. The engagement was long and obstinate, but at length the Portuguese were defeated with great slaughter. The places of the sea-coast then successively fell a prey to the ravages of this merciless race of people. These being more populous than many other parts of Africa, were more capable of supplying them with the means of glutting themselves with human blood, their thirst of which was insatiable.

Among the chiefs of this people that separated themselves from the rest, Dongii was particularly famed, on account of his being the father of Temban-dumba, a woman who gave to the Giagas a number of diabolical laws, by which

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they became afterwards more known as a sect, than as a nation; and who added a kind of religious fanaticism to the ferocity of these monsters, and consequently rendered their barbarity more fierce and dangerous. Dongii dying soon after the birth of his daughter, Mussaza, his wife, a bold and intrepid woman, who had been educated from her infancy amidst blood and slaughter, and was well instructed in the exercises of war, assumed the command. She soon gave such convincing proofs of her sanguinary disposition and intrepid conduct, that the people hesitated not to submit themselves to her guidance and controul. They followed her in the most dangerous expeditions, and always perceived her the foremost in battle, and the last to retire. She was fond of appearing, on all occasions, in the dress and armour of a man. The martial spirit and intrepid conduct which she observed in her daughter, induced her to equip her in the same manner, and to make her follow her in her expeditions, in order that she might be instructed in the same discipline.

Temban-dumba made such a proficiency under the instructions of her mother, and discovered such presence of mind in the midst of difficulties and dangers, that Mussaga scrupled not to intrust her with the command of a party of her forces, whilst she conducted the rest on some important expedition. The daughter was so elated with the power thus delegated to her, that she could scarcely brook any longer the superiority of her mother. Being also of an amorous, as well as warlike disposition, she indulged herself in the embraces of several youths of her army, with whom she was no sooner tired, than

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she caused them privately to be put to death. Her mother frequently reprimanded her with such severity for her cruelty and excesses, that Temban-dumba could no longer endure her constraint, but openly revolted against her. She had already displayed such intrepidity and courage on so many occasions that this bold and unnatural action, instead of disgracing the martial heroine, made her become more admired and dreaded by the whole army, who began to consider her as more than human, and were eager to fight under her banners. The greater part of her mother's forces revolted to her, and she quickly found herself at the head of a numerous and powerful body of troops, by whom she was revered and obeyed, and who imagined her to excel all others in prudence, courage, and every martial qualification.

Temban-dumba, sensible of the distinction which her achievements had occasioned among the troops, and of the extraordinary ideas that had been thereby excited in her favour, took occasion to improve the belief of the soldiers to her own advantage. Having drawn up her army in battle array, and appearing before them in her masculine dress and armour, acquainted them with her intentions of rendering them victorious and happy, and by means of their valour and assistance, of laying the foundation of a powerful and glorious kingdom, which should eternise her memory, and make them dreaded by all the neighbouring states. But first of all, added this heroine, "I am desirous of instructing you in the laws, and initiating you in the ceremonies of the ancient Giagas, which will be the infallible means of rendering you rich and happy.

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I am about to perform an action, which is worthy of your courage and example. If you do not imitate it, I shall believe that you have degenerated from the illustrious race from which you boast your descent."

Having by this speech attracted the attention and expectation of the soldiers, she commanded an only son, whom she had by one of her paramours, to be brought her. Then taking a large pestle and mortar, this megæra, instead of loading the child with the caresses of a mother, pounded her offspring to death, till the bones and flesh were reduced to a kind of pulp, with which she mixed several sorts of powder, herbs, roots, oil, and other drugs. This being put into a kettle, and placed over a fire, she made into ointment, and having stripped herself, caused some of her maids to rub the whole of her body with it, before the people. Thus anointed, she resumed her martial dress, and accosted her troops as follows: "All those who shall make use of the same balsam as I have, will be rendered not only strong and fit for warlike actions, but they will become invincible and invulnerable, and a terror to all nations." She then added, that to cause the ointment to be more efficacious, it ought to be made from the flesh of the children of the most distinguished families, voluntarily sacrificed by their parents.

It is scarcely to be conceived how much this inhuman and unnatural action was admired and applauded, or how speedily and universally the advice of Temban-dumba was followed by her barbarous subjects; many thousands of male children were sacrificed in the same manner, and for the same purpose. She soon after enacted a

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law, by which it was required, that none of her subjects should undertake any matter of consequence, till they had previously anointed themselves with this ointment, which, she told them, would inspire the people with military talents, and give them prudence and wisdom in their councils. Other edicts were issued, all of which tended to excite a spirit of ferocity. Several sorts of male children were excluded from being admitted into the *kilombo*, or camp, or even permitted to live: some were pounded to death, for the use above mentioned; and others that were deformed or imperfect, were commanded to be thrown to the dogs. No woman was suffered to bring forth in the camp, under pain of being condemned to devour her own offspring, or of submitting to death herself.

These laws, which she denominated *quixillos*, or inviolable, and pretended that they had been derived from time immemorial from the ancient Giagas, were ever afterwards in general religiously observed by that barbarous nation. In some respects, however, she found it necessary to abate the severity of those, which seemed to threaten the total extinction of the people; but took care to conclude this horrid code with an injunction to her subjects, that they should always feed on human flesh, in preference to that of any other. But Temban-dumba made an exception in these particulars with respect to those of her own sex, who were forbidden to be put to death for the sake of anointing the body, or to be eaten as food; and they were reserved for the purpose of being sacrificed at the tomb of some deceased noble or favourite, or of being interred with him in the same grave. This pro-

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hibition, however, did not produce the intended effect: we are told of one of their nobles, that he caused a young woman to be butchered every day for his table.

The laws which she enacted relative to her political government, were much more numerous, though of the same nature, and calculated to encourage and inure her subjects to rapine, bloodshed, and cruelty; but they are too shocking to deserve farther detail, especially as we have already had occasion to mention them as introduced and practised by the no less superstitious and sanguinary queen Zingha, while the princess continued attached to that sect. Thus did two passions carried to excess—vengeance and ambition—convert into monsters two women, who were, perhaps, formed to be heroines. We ought, however, to make some distinction between the penitent Zingha, and the hardened Temban-dumba, who, always tranquil and at ease in the midst of her crimes, opened to herself the grave by a continuation of successive atrocities.

The *kilombos*, or camps, of Temban-dumba and her followers, very much resembled those of the ancient Romans, were composed of such materials, and built in such a manner, that they were erected with ease and expedition. The officers who were the principal directors of the encampment, having made choice of a spot of ground proper for the purpose, formed it into seven divisions, each of which was governed by a separate commander. In the centre stood the royal pavilion, surrounded by those of the ministers, officers, and servants, belonging to the court, the whole of which composed a spacious square. The next in rank was the quarter of the

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kalombolo, or general of the army under the king or queen: this officer was called chief of the war. He ordered and directed all military expeditions and engagements, and must therefore have been an experienced and intrepid warrior, cruel, and void of compassion and humanity.

The weapons in use among the Giagas are the dart or javelin, the bow, arrow, hatchet, dagger, and shield; the last of which is made of tough leather, and sufficiently long to cover the whole body. They all fight on foot, either on account of the want of horses, or because they know not the use of them in war. The chief excellency of the Giagas consists in their strength and activity in defending themselves with their shields, or annoying the enemy with their missile weapons. Their monarchs live in great state, none being allowed to seat themselves in a chair in their presence, except the kalombolo, or chief commander, who sits as supreme judge, and determines all civil and criminal causes. Some persons of rank, however, are permitted to seat themselves on a carpet in the royal presence. When the common people speak to the monarch, they prostrate themselves on the ground. If the king happens to sneeze or cough, the whole audience immediately wish him health and long life; and those who are nearest to him, give notice to others that are distant by the sound of a drum, when a loud and repeated clapping of hands ensues.

Temban-dumba having murdered great numbers of her lovers in order to prevent the discovery of her debaucheries, at length became enamoured of a private soldier. This man was called Culembo, was bold and intrepid, and of a

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tall and pleasing form. He was not ignorant of the fate that had attended his predecessors, and, therefore accepted of her condescending offers, with the determined resolution of anticipating her design, as soon as he should find that her passion began to cool. In the mean time, he endeavoured to please her and gain her favour by all the art and address of which he was master, and soon obtained such an ascendency in the affections of Temban-dumba, that she was prevailed on publicly to acknowledge him as her husband. The nuptials were celebrated with great pomp, and after the marriage, a vast number of human victims were slaughtered for the entertainment of the guests. Nothing, however, could prevent Culembo from watching his spouse very narrowly, and he became more sensible of her inconstant and tyrannical disposition, and, at length, perceived, notwithstanding the dissimulation of Temban-dumba, that he was at least grown indifferent, if not disagreeable to her. He attempted, therefore, to ward off the blow which threatened him, by renewing and redoubling his caresses, by sumptuous banquets, and such means as seemed most likely to suspend her treacherous intentions. But fearing that she might obtain her purpose, he infused a strong dose of poison among her wine, which she had no sooner drank than she expired.

Culembo acted the part of a tender and afflicted husband, with such counterfeited excess of grief, that he was not suspected of being accessary to the death of his spouse. His well-known valour and conduct made so great an impression on the minds of the Giagas, that he was unanimously declared successor to Temban-

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dumba, and proclaimed king accordingly. The first care of Culembo, after his accession to the throne, was employed in performing the obsequies of his wife with such magnificence as might serve to convince them of his affection for her person. He did not neglect to signalize himself, in the beginning of his reign, by frequent incursions and ravages; but a beauteous slave having captivated his heart, he married her, and was induced to exchange the military avocations for the pleasures and ease of domestic enjoyment. After his death, he was considered by his subjects as an inferior deity.

He was succeeded by Chingarii, whose name signifies lion, and whose disposition greatly resembled that of the king of animals, he being insatiable for blood and rapine. In fact, there scarcely ever appeared even among the Giagas, a chief more cruel and inhuman. He was defeated and slain in battle by the Portuguese. His successor, who was called Culiximbo, was a man of courage and intrepidity, and had been very successful in his expeditions. His disposition, however, was gentle and humane, and he could not be prevailed on to eat the flesh, or drink the blood of men. For that reason his barbarous subjects conceived an invincible aversion towards him. The *singhillos*, or priests, propagated the idea that the late queen Temban-dumba resented this open violation of her laws; in consequence of which, Culiximbo was assassinated to appease, as was said, her manes.

He is said to have had thirty successors, who reigned till the year 1657; but we are not informed how long this dynasty continued, nor of any thing worthy of notice respecting its late

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kings. But certain it is, that the government of each was of short duration; and that they appeared only for a moment on that bloody throne. The person who had received protection and kindness murdered his friend and benefactor; the father assassinated the son, or the son the father; and it perhaps would not have been a matter of regret, if the soldiers had imitated the example of their commanders, and the whole of this detestable race had been exterminated.

SECTION V.

Anziko, Fungeno, Biafar, and Calbaria.

The kingdom of Anziko is an inland country, bounded on the west by the river Umbre which empties itself into the Zaire, on the north by the desarts of Nubia, and on the south by a part of Congo. It abounds with mines of copper, and other minerals; and has great plenty of rhinoceroses, lions, and various wild beasts. The natives, like the Arabs, wander from one place to another, and have no permanent habitation. They neither sow nor reap, but live by plunder; and being cruel and intrepid, are dreaded by the neighbouring nations. Their language is barbarous, and difficult to be learned. People of consequence wear red and black caps made of velvet; and those of inferior rank of both sexes go barefoot, and without any covering on the upper parts of the bodies. To preserve their health, they make a composition of white sandal-wood, pounded and mixed with palm-oil, with which they anoint themselves.

Their arms are battle-axes, bows, and arrows. The Anzikese kill birds flying, and shoot with

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such dexterity and dispatch, that they can discharge twenty-eight arrows from the bow, before the first falls to the ground. One end of the battle-axe is sharp and cuts like a wedge, the other is flat like a mallet; with this latter part they screen their bodies, and ward off the darts of the enemy. They also wear daggers, which they carry in ivory belts. When they take any prisoners, they tie them to a stake and try their courage and firmness by shooting at them as at a mark, but in such a manner, that the arrows only pass near them. Those who discover signs of fear are killed and eaten: but those who appear intrepid and resolute are adopted by them, and have their noses and ears bored, and two teeth of their upper jaw pulled out, as a token of slavery. The Anzikese recruit their armies with these prisoners, whom they accustom to human flesh, if they have not been used to feed upon it already, and soon render them equally barbarous and ferocious with themselves.

The women of this country imagine, that to have two teeth fewer above and two below is a great ornament, but they are not to be pulled out, till the person be considered as fit for marriage: if any one should refuse to have this mark of beauty, she would be thought dishonoured.

Fungeno is a kingdom tributary to the sovereign of Anziko, and situated between the rivers Zaire and Coanza. The Portuguese carry on a trade with the natives for stuffs and slaves.

The kingdom of Biafar lies on the east of Benin, and extends southward as far as the fourth degree of north latitude. The natives are exceedingly addicted to the superstitious belief of magic, and imagine themselves capable of caus-

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ing rain, thunder, and lightning. They worship the devil, and offer up their children in sacrifice.

Calbaria adjoins to Rio Real, and derives its name from that river, which, though broad, is too shallow to be navigated by ships of burthen, and runs in a northern direction. Near the coast is a town called by the Dutch Wyndorp, and by the natives Toke, from the great quantity of wine it produces. The city of Calbaria is a place of great trade, especially with the Dutch, and is inclosed with palisadoes. The commerce of this part of Africa consists chiefly in slaves, who are exchanged for small bars of copper. The natives also bring vast numbers of elephants' teeth annually to market. The inhabitants are characterized as a deceitful and filthy people, who have their bodies painted with different colours, and their foreheads marked with hideous figures. They possess no affection for one another: parents sell their children; husbands their wives; and brothers their sisters.

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CHAPTER IX.

Guinea proper: Comprehending the Kingdom of Benin and the Slave, Gold, Ivory, and Grain Coasts.

THIS extensive country is bounded on the north by Nigritia, on the east by the unexplored parts of Africa, and on the west and south by the great Atlantic Ocean. The air of this tract of territory is extremely fervid, and the periodical rains overflowing all the level parts during several months in the year, it is certainly very inimical to health, and has proved remarkably fatal to European constitutions.

SECTION I.

Benin.

THE kingdom of Benin is bounded by the gulph of Guinea and the Slave Coast on the west, by Loango on the south, and by the unknown parts of Africa on the north and east. Notwithstanding the pleasing scenes which this country presents to the eye of a stranger, the air is not only very unhealthy, but the musquitoes or gnats are here exceedingly troublesome, and their sting is so painful and poisonous, that it inflames all the neighbouring parts, and occasions ulcers. Formosa is the principal river in this kingdom, and is said to have received its appellation from the verdure and fertility of its banks, which are adorned with tall and spreading trees. On the sides of this river are some European settlements, principally belonging to the Dutch;

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the names of these are Boededo, Arebo, and Agatton. The first contains about fifty houses, and has a viceroy and council, whose jurisdiction extends to all matters of a civil nature; and they levy taxes and raise imposts on merchandize. But matters of great importance are referred to a superior court.

Arebo is a large and populous city, which, together with the adjacent territory, is also governed by a viceroy and council, vested with similar powers as those of Boededo. It is the centre of the commerce of this kingdom, and had once an English and Dutch settlement; but the former has for some time been abandoned. Agatton has likewise been a place of considerable eminence, for its extent, trade, and population; but the ravages of war have reduced it nearly to desolation.

The last of the four commercial towns in this kingdom is Meiberg, an appellation given it by the Dutch, who carried on here a great trade, and maintained a considerable settlement; but the place is now only famous for the following tragical event, which proved its almost total ruin. Beelsyder, a Dutch factor, having conceived a violent passion for one of the women belonging to the negro government, carried her away by force. The viceroy, enraged at this insult, attacked the Dutch settlement with a body of troops, and obliged the factor to retreat on board a vessel that lay in the road, after having received a wound of which he soon after died. Upon this, the Dutch director-general, resolving to revenge the death of the factor, fitted out a brigantine, and surprising the blacks at Meiberg, massacred without distinction every individual that could be met with. The news of this event

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soon reaching the court at Benin, the king demanded an explanation of the causes of this sanguinary proceeding. Being informed of the particulars, instead of turning his resentment against the Dutch, who had certainly violated the laws of justice, hospitality, and humanity, he shamefully joined the oppressors, and with the most horrible circumstances of barbarity, ordered the innocent viceroy and his whole race to be extirpated. This sentence was speedily put in execution: their dead bodies were delivered as a prey to the wild beasts; and their houses were levelled to the ground, with this injunction, that they should never be rebuilt.

Benin, the capital of this kingdom, is a city of great extent, stands in seven degrees thirty minutes of north latitude, and in five degrees four minutes of east longitude, and contains the imperial residence. All the streets are extremely long and broad, and are adorned with a variety of shops filled with European merchandize, as well as with the produce of the country. Formerly the houses stood much closer to each other, and the city was more populous: many edifices now lie in ruins. As the country affords no stone, the buildings are composed of mud and clay, and covered with reeds, or straw, in a very elegant manner. The city is divided into several districts, each of which is under the government of its respective officer, called king of the street, and is surrounded with walls, ditches, and palisades; which, however, would afford little defence against a powerful or resolute enemy.

A great part of the city is occupied by the royal palace, which is a building of prodigious dimensions, but neither commodious nor elegant.

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It chiefly consists of galleries supported by rough, unpolished pillars and turrets, on the summits of which are carved statues of the rudest workmanship. The king's audience-chamber, where he receives the foreign ministers and ambassadors, has no appearance of pomp or magnificence, and would rather seem to be a repository for goods and merchandize, than a royal apartment. His throne, indeed, is of ivory, and placed under a canopy of rich silk; but the monarch being engaged in trade, as well as his subjects, it is surrounded by great numbers of elephants' teeth, and other commodities intended for sale.

The decay of the city of Benin is justly attributed to the tyrannical conduct of one of its sovereigns; who, envious of the wealth of some of the richest of his subjects, ordered them to be seized and put to death, and their property to be confiscated to his use, under pretence that they had conspired against his life; and, notwithstanding they exhibited the clearest and most indubitable evidence of their innocence, they suffered according to the determination of the monarch. Another grandee, dreading the same fate, quitted the city, and carried with him a great majority of the inhabitants. They were immediately pursued by the king, who attacked them with a numerous body of forces, but was defeated by the fugitives, and compelled to retreat with loss. In a second onset he was still more unsuccessful: his troops suffered another repulse, and he was pursued by the enemy to the very gates of his palace. The plundering and devastation of the city immediately commenced, which continued for almost ten successive years. At length, by the mediation of the Dutch, a

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peace was concluded, and a free pardon granted to the rebellious grandee, with permission, and even a request, to return to his former habitation. But not choosing to put himself again into the power of a sovereign, whose disposition was too well known, he fixed his residence at a place situated about three days journey from the capital, and preferred poverty, accompanied with freedom, to wealth and dignity with servitude. Since that period Benin has never regained its former splendour and population.

The food of the natives consists of yam and potatoe-bread, beef, mutton, fowls, and fish; but the flesh of cats and dogs is, of all others, the most esteemed among them. The beverage of the common sort is pure water, but the more opulent contaminate it with a filthy kind of wine, called Pardon.

The government is perfectly despotic; and the empire is divided among a number of petty princes, all of whom are subject to the king. The natives may be characterized as a gentle, civil, and obliging people; extremely grateful for any good usage they may receive, but very inflexible to every kind of severity. They are brisk and quick in the dispatch of business, steady in their agreements, and greatly attached to their ancient customs and institutions. The government appoints brokers, called *mercadors*, who being smatterers in some of the European languages, treat with strangers relative to merchandize. Private bargains are therefore concluded with the greatest secrecy, for fear of exciting the jealousy or avarice of the governors.

The state of Benin is divided into three classes of men: the great lords, who attend the king's

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person, to whom every person must apply that has favours to request of the monarch ; the *ares de roes*, or street kings, who preside over various subordinate ranks, and from which order are elected the viceroys and governors of provinces ; the fiadores, who are invested with peculiar badges of distinction, but are subordinate and inferior to the ares de roes. These various ranks, at the head of which is the king, support, according to their ability, a certain number of poor. The blind, the lame, and the infirm, are the peculiar objects of their charity : by which excellent police, not a beggar or vagrant is to be seen. The public officers compel the idle to labour, in order to prevent a burden on themselves ; and should the indolence of their dispositions overcome the fear and shame of want, they are suffered to starve, unpitied and disregarded.

The opulent inhabitants appear in very neat calico dresses, fastened about their waists, the upper parts of the body being entirely naked. The women of quality cover their faces with a thin veil, which they take off in the presence of their friends and acquaintance. Their necks are also adorned with chains of coral, agreeably and fancifully disposed ; and they wear copper and iron rings on their legs and arms. These decorations give them a strange and fantastic appearance ; otherwise their persons are by no means disagreeable. The lower ranks of people differ from others only in the quality of their clothes, the manner of their dressing being exactly the same.

The men marry as many wives as their circumstances will allow, the laws limiting them to no determinate number. They have scarcely

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any nuptial ceremonies, and, indeed, marriage is so frequent, that its solemnity must thereby be greatly diminished; the only particular in which it differs from a common assembly of friends, is the elegance and profusion of the entertainment. When a man falls in love with a young female, he discovers his passion to the most considerable person among his relations, who, proceeding to the house of the virgin, demands her of her friends. The consent of the woman is seldom refused if she be not already engaged. Yet, notwithstanding their unlimited indulgence in sensual appetites, the natives are jealous of one another to a degree of phrenzy, but never regard the liberties taken with their wives by Europeans, deeming it impossible that the taste of the women can be so far depraved as to grant unlawful favours to a white man. Adultery is punished in the most exemplary manner, and both the offending parties are considered as equally culpable. From the severity of the punishment, however, with which this crime is attended, the violation of the marriage bed is as little known in Benin, as perhaps in any country whatever. The natives are extremely delicate with regard to the nuptial rite, and pregnant women are not suffered to receive the caresses of their husbands till after delivery. All male children are presented to the king, as of right belonging to him; but the females are considered as the property of the father, and are entirely at his disposal till their marriage. About a fortnight after birth, the infants are circumcised. They have also incisions made in different parts of their bodies, expressive of certain necromantic figures, in order to prevent the ef-

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fects of evil spirits, who are supposed to reside in particular woods, which no native of Benin has the courage to enter.

The inhabitants of Benin seem less afraid of death than other natives of the same coast. Though not absolute predestinarians, they ascribe duration of life to the gods, and believe that man has a limited portion of time upon earth. Nevertheless, they use means for prolonging their existence. When any one is attacked with a malady, he has recourse to the priest, who, as in several other barbarous countries, performs also the office of physician. The bodies of the dead are carefully washed. When a native of Benin dies in a distant province of the kingdom, the corpse is brought to the place of his birth, and being first dried over a slow fire, is put into a coffin, and perfumed with aromatics. As it frequently happens, that no means of conveyance can be procured for several years, the body of the deceased remains unburied during that period, for the funeral rites can be performed only in the place of their nativity, and it would be considered as a mark of the greatest impiety and disrespect, to inter the dead in a foreign soil. The nearest relations of the defunct express their grief in various ways: some shave their heads, others their beards, and a third sort only one half of each. They also sometimes howl in a doleful manner, for a few weeks at stated periods, and drink plentifully during the intervals. Public mourning is usually limited to the term of fourteen or fifteen days.

When the king dies, his obsequies are performed with very extraordinary ceremonies, characteristic of the superstition of the people. Be-

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fore the palace they dig a hole to a great depth, the top of which is extremely narrow, but its dimensions at the bottom are very considerable. The body of the deceased monarch is then exposed in the presence of an infinite concourse of people, all of whom contend for the honour of being inhumed with him. Those who are elected to this dignity, are accordingly buried with the king, and the solemnity is concluded with placing a large stone at the mouth of the pit.

The laws of inheritance are generally equitable, when a sovereign does not interfere. At the death of a person of rank, his eldest son succeeds to the property, on condition of his paying a fine to the king, and providing for his brothers and sisters. The mother is allowed a jointure, proportioned to the estate, and to her own rank and quality. In this country, as in many others, justice is frequently perverted, and money accepted for sheltering offenders from punishment. Pecuniary oblations will atone for the commission of most crimes; but where money is wanting, the deficiency is supplied by corporal inflictions. Murder and adultery, however, are excluded from the number of venial offences, and are always made capital. Manslaughter is expiated by sacrificing a slave to the manes of the deceased, and by paying to the three great lords a sum proportioned to the circumstances of the offender; upon which he obtains his freedom, and the friends of the defunct remain satisfied with his having fulfilled the law.

When a crime is doubtful, and the accusation not clearly proved, they practise five different modes of purgation, four of which are made use of in civil and venial offences, and the fifth

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in criminal charges only. In the first method of purgation, the accused is carried before the priest, who pierces his tongue with a cock's feather, well greased; if the perforation be easily made, he is esteemed innocent, and the wound will soon heal; but should it be attended with any difficulty, no other proof is required for establishing his guilt. In the second mode of purgation, the priest takes an oblong piece of turf, into which he sticks a few small quills, and enjoins the offender to draw them out one by one; if he performs this easily, he is acquitted, and considered as innocent; but should he do it with difficulty, he is immediately convicted of the crime. The third method is no less extraordinary, and is performed by injecting the juice of certain herbs into the eyes of the suspected person, when, if they become red and inflamed, he is pronounced guilty, otherwise he is absolved. The fourth ordeal consists in the priest's stroking the tongue of the accused three times with a hot copper bracelet, which, if not followed by a blister, is considered as a criterion of his innocence. The fifth kind of trial, which is confined to persons of rank, seldom takes place; when it does, the accused is carried by the king's order to a certain river, whose waters are supposed to possess the extraordinary quality of supporting the innocent, while the guilty inevitably sink to the bottom.

The fetisso is worshipped in the kingdom of Benin, as in other countries on the western coast of this continent; but the natives consider him as an inferior and subordinate deity, who acts as mediator between man and his Creator. To God they ascribe the attributes of omniscience, omni-

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presence, omnipotence, and invisibility; and believe that by him all things exist, and that he governs the world by his providence. They imagine that a wicked and malicious spirit is the cause of the calamities they occasionally suffer, and therefore give every evil the appellation of *devil*, whom they worship through fear, and to prevent his injuring them. The natives of Benin firmly believe in the existence of apparitions, and that the ghosts of their deceased ancestors walk on the earth. The supposed suggestions, therefore, that they receive in their sleep from these invisible beings, are regarded with the greatest veneration. By these preternatural communications, they think themselves warned of the approach of danger, and of the means of frustrating the malignity of fate; for which reason they commonly sacrifice to the bountiful agents, who provide for their peace and security. Besides these occasional offerings, annual sacrifices are performed with all imaginable pomp, which continue for several days; to these festivals all ranks of people are invited, and the inferior sort are usually dismissed with presents by the more opulent.

They place the seat of bliss or misery in the sea; and the shadow of a man they consider as a real existence, which, at some future time, will give testimony of his good or evil actions; but the more intelligent are at a loss to account for the mode of retribution, that awaits the different lives of men. The Benins fill every corner of their houses with idols, and yet they have temples appropriated for the residence of particular deities, to whom their votaries sacrifice and pay regular worship. Their priests pretend to the

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art of penetrating into futurity, by means of a pot pierced at the bottom, from which issues a dismal noise, the oracle of their responses. Nothing is undertaken, without first consulting the priests, who, nevertheless, are prohibited from interfering with affairs of state, on pain of suffering death.

The high priest of Loebo, a town situated at the mouth of the river Formosa, is particularly famous for his skill in divination. His power is also allowed to extend over sea and air, and by the gift of prescience, can foresee and prevent the contingence of future events. He is considered as the head of the priesthood, and so venerated, that no one approaches him without fear and trembling; and even the ambassadors of the king shew him the strongest tokens of awe and respect. To enumerate the various superstitious ceremonies which this people observe, would not only prove an endless but unpleasing task. Extreme ignorance covers this land with her dusky mantle, and hence every thing which is the object of fear, becomes also the object of veneration.

The Benins divide time into years, months, weeks, and days, each division being distinguished by its proper appellation. The year is composed of four months; and every fifth day is consecrated to religious purposes, and is considered as a day of rest. They have also other days appropriated to sacred purposes, and celebrated with extraordinary solemnity; particularly an annual feast in memory of their ancestors, and the coral festival. On this last occasion, the king, arrayed in the most magnificent attire, surrounded by his women, and attended by his guards, makes

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oblations for himself and for his people. This act of piety in the prince is followed by the shouts and acclamations of his assembled subjects.

The succession to the throne is regulated by the reigning monarch, who on perceiving that his death is approaching, calls one of the onegwas, or principal lords, and imparts to him the name of his successor, with an injunction that he should not divulge the secret till after his decease. When that period arrives, the onegwa takes into his custody all the royal jewels, treasures, and effects; and the young princes, who are in a state of uncertainty and uneasiness, immediately come before him, and do homage to the arbiter of their fate. At the time appointed for declaring a successor, the minister summons the high marshal to attend, and informs him of the will of the late king, which the other repeats aloud six times, with a solemnity adequate to the importance of the subject. The young sovereign is soon after invested with the badges of royalty, and receives the homage and allegiance of the great officers and nobles of the kingdom. This ceremony being performed, he retires to the town of Oscebo, where he is instructed in the art of government, and the duties of a monarch. Having finished his studies, the king returns to Benin, and taking possession of the palace and the ensigns of royalty, commences his reign with the murder of his brothers, and the removal of every rival; this sanguinary measure is considered as indispensably necessary, as well for securing the monarch on the throne, as for the public tranquillity.

The revenues annexed to the crown of Benin are very considerable, and arise from various

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imposts and exactions. The governors of provinces are accountable to the king for a yearly stipulated sum; but the inferior officers generally pay their taxes in kind. By this means the court is constantly supplied with every necessary, and the overplus is sold, and the money deposited in the royal coffers. Certain duties are also imposed on foreign trade, but all Europeans are treated with indulgence and respect.

Some writers have represented the king of Benin as a great and powerful prince, who can in a very short time raise an army of one hundred and twenty thousand men; while others affirm, that the art of war is unknown in this country, and the people are so pusillanimous, that the want of courage exposes the kingdom to the incursions and devastations of the neighbouring states. In order to reconcile these opposite accounts, we need only remind our readers, that numbers do not always constitute power; that it is very possible the king of Benin may easily collect an army of one hundred and twenty thousand men; but it seems also probable, that neither the arms, nor the military exercise of this people, will render them dreaded by nations who are better acquainted with the improved arts for the destruction of the human race.

SECTION II.

The Slave Coast.

WE next proceed to the Slave Coast, which is bounded on the east by the kingdom of Benin, on the west by the Gold Coast, and on the south by the Atlantic Ocean; comprehending the kingdoms of Coto, Popo, Whidah, and Ardrah.

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Authors are not agreed with respect to the several limits of these nations; nor is it material to our readers to know their precise extent, since they will all be comprehended under the general view of the Slave Coast.

The kingdom of Coto is level, sandy, and unfertile, and produces few trees except the palm, which grows here very luxuriantly. The country, however, is tolerably abundant in cattle, and the rivers contain great plenty and variety of fish. The natives are said to be inoffensive, civil, and obliging. In their politics, œconomy, and religious institutions, they greatly resemble the inhabitants of the Gold Coast, whose manners we shall hereafter have occasion to describe. Their wealth consists in the number of their idols, which are always increased in proportion to the augmentation of their riches. A negro, who is not possessed of a dozen idols at least, is reputed poor. The houses, roads, and footpaths, are filled with these images; from whence we may infer how far the fetissos contribute to their happiness and fortunes. Their commerce, which is inconsiderable, is principally confined to the men, women, and children taken in the depredatory excursions of the inhabitants, and whom they dispose of to Europeans; nor is this sort of plunder esteemed either disgraceful or illegal. The courage of the natives is proportionate to their wealth.

The kingdom of Popo, which is divided into districts, called Great and Little, is principally a level, sandy, and barren tract. The inhabitants are artful, fraudulent, daring, and active; and subsist entirely on plunder, and the same kind of traffic which is carried on by the natives of

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Coto; but they are braver and more resolute, and therefore more successful than the latter. The royal palace is a large edifice, composed of a number of huts, each of which is guarded by a company of soldiers; but the accommodations of the monarch have less appearance of affluence than those of a British mechanic. The constant amusement, and indeed, the sole occupation of the king consists in smoking tobacco, toying with his women, and conversing with his officers on the most trifling subjects. He is, however, treated by his subjects with considerable deference and submission. The natives of Popo have a blind and superstitious confidence in their priests, who possess the most unlimited authority. In fact, these weak and ignorant creatures are persuaded, that the intercession of these holy men can procure them the favour and protection, or the wrath and vengeance, of the Deity. All the Europeans that trade here endeavour to secure by bribes the interest of the priests, in order that they may obtain the friendship of their devotees.

The kingdom of Whidah is so denominated by the English, the Portuguese, and the natives; from the French it receives the appellation of Iuida; and from the Dutch that of Fida. It extends about ten leagues along the shore, and is bounded by the kingdom of Popo on the west, and by that of Ardrah on the south. It is watered by two rivers, the Iakin and Euphrates; the former of which is navigable only by canoes; but the latter is in general deeper, and might be entered by large ships, did not some banks of sand impede the passage. All the Europeans who have visited Whidah, speak of it with rapture, and extol it as the most beautiful part in

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the world. Round the coast the country is flat, and rises with an equal and gradual ascent towards the interior, by which means the landscape appears in full view, and presents a most pleasing and rich prospect. The trees are straight and tall, and disposed in regular order. The verdure of the meadows, the luxuriancy of the fields waving with crops of corn and fruits, and the purling of the streams in their descent towards the sea, form as delightful a scene as the fancy can well imagine. In short, Whidah is esteemed a paradisaical spot, where a happy soil is improved by cultivation to the utmost, though nature has been so benignant, that art has little more to effect, than to prune her superfluities. A spring and autumn perpetually succeed each other, for no sooner is the corn cut, than the ground is again plowed and sown; and the next crop proves equally vigorous and productive as the former, as if nature were inexhaustible. Nevertheless, so populous is the country, that a stranger would conceive it impossible for the most fertile soil to supply the numerous inhabitants with food. Single villages contain as many people as several extensive empires on the coast of Guinea; and the towns stand so near each other, that the whole kingdom exhibits the appearance of one prodigious large city. Indeed, could we delineate this country in all its real beauty, enumerating its various charms, and distinctly describing its profusion of animal and vegetable productions, our readers would readily suspect that we had indulged in the enthusiasm of poetic imagery, and over-leaped the bounds of historical truth and faithful narration.

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Notwithstanding the small extent of this kingdom, it is divided into twenty-six provinces, which are denominated from their capitals. These states are distributed among the chief lords, and become hereditary in their families. In Xavier, which is the metropolis of Whidah, the markets are numerously attended by merchants, who dispose of their goods without noise or confusion. A judge, attended by proper officers, is appointed by the king, to inspect all merchandize, and to hear and determine all grievances and disputes. To oppress liberty, or to sell a freeman for a slave, is considered as a crime of the deepest hue, and always punished with death. At this market, woollen cloths, linen, silks, calicoes of European and Indian manufacture, are disposed of in great plenty; slaves of both sexes are bought and sold; and gold, iron, lead, together with all the various productions of Europe, Asia, and Africa, may be procured here. The principal manufactures of Whidah, are cloths, umbrellas, baskets, plates, and dishes. Gold-dust is used in all bargains; but a small white shell, called bujis, of the size and shape of an olive, is the general currency of the kingdom.

The nobility of Whidah, and the more opulent inhabitants, when they go from home, are carried in hammocks, or palanquins, on the shoulders of slaves. This mode of travelling is an excellent defence against the heat of the climate, which is so intense that an European could not walk a mile in the middle of the day, without suffering fatigue, and exposing himself to great danger. The Whidahs are said to exceed all other negroes, both in their virtues

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and their vices. All ranks of them treat Europeans with extreme civility and respect; and they had rather give than receive presents. Their manners are engaging and respectful, and accompanied with a degree of politeness not to be expected in a rude and ignorant people. When a person of low condition meets his superior, he immediately falls on his knees, kisses the earth three times, and remains in that posture till the latter has gone past. The same respect is shewn by the younger to the elder brothers; by the children to their fathers; and by the wives to their husbands. When persons of equal rank happen to meet, they mutually salute, fall down, and clap their hands; their attendants also observe the same ceremonies; and a retinue of one hundred persons may sometimes be seen on their knees, a spectacle which might easily be mistaken for some public act of devotion. In short, the inhabitants of no part of the world are more polite in external ceremonies, than are the natives of the kingdom of Whidah. It would not be easy to account for the difference of manners that prevail in this nation, contrasted with those of the surrounding states, with which it has continual intercourse. One would be led to imagine, that this happy people are possessed of a soil, a climate, and a disposition almost peculiar to themselves.

The Whidahs are tall, elegant, and robust. Their complexions are black, but not so jetty as those of the inhabitants of the Gold Coast. They excel all other negroes in diligence and industry. Idleness is characteristic of the Africans in general: on the contrary, the natives of this country, of both sexes, exhibit a

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spirit of unremitting assiduity and attention in every undertaking. Travellers have not improperly compared the qualities of this people to those of the Chinese: the same love of labour, the same industry, the same ceremonious civility, the same jealous affection for their wives, the same cunning to cheat in commerce, and the same external politeness towards strangers. If they should meet an European one hundred times the same day, one hundred times would they fall down on their knees, and kiss the ground, and not rise from this posture till a signal had been given by the person whom they were thus saluting.

When a woman happens to incur the jealousy or suspicion of her husband, she is immediately sold to the Europeans. If a person debauches another man's wife, he is not only himself condemned to suffer death, but every individual of his family is involved in the consequences of his guilt. To touch the body of any of the women belonging to the king, even accidentally, is frequently deemed worthy of capital punishment; for that reason, therefore, those that are employed about the palace, are continually calling out that a man is in the way. The king also is wholly attended by women, who alone are permitted to enter his apartment. Young females, however, are by no means desirous of being admitted into it; because unless the monarch casts a favourable eye upon them, they are condemned to perpetual celibacy; and a beautiful maid that had been carried thither by force, threw herself into a well. On the smallest disgust, the king will frequently sell eighteen or twenty women out of his seraglio.

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The natives of Whidah dress in a more elegant and splendid manner than any other people on this coast; but they are unaccustomed to decorate their bodies with ornaments of gold and silver. They wear five or six different suits of clothes at once, the uppermost of which is seven or eight yards in length, and wrapped about them in a decent and becoming manner. None are permitted to have garments of a red colour, except the king and royal family. The dress of the sovereign and his nobles consists in general of a piece of white linen, about three ells in length, wrapped round the waist, and appearing like a large apron. Over this a covering of silk of the same dimensions is worn; to which is sometimes added a train of the same stuff, that sweeps along the ground. They reckon an European hat and feather as a most elegant cover for the head; but as this costly article can only be purchased by persons of exalted rank, the common people are exposed to every variety of weather, without any other defence than a coarse cotton cloth, or a few weeds tied round their waists. Nor do the women wear a less number of clothes than those of the other sex. Their dress is not so becoming as that of the men. They are, however, adorned with necklaces, and strings of pearl and coral, from the wrist to the elbow; and they wear caps of coloured straw, curiously plaited, which have some resemblance to the papal tiara.

The inhabitants of this kingdom seem to possess considerable genius; and though ignorant of letters, they are able to calculate the largest sums of money with accuracy and dispatch, to

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state shares in partnership with arithmetical precision, and solve questions with astonishing truth and expedition, which would puzzle the clearest European head to compass without the rules of art. The wisest, however, among them cannot tell his own age; and if a person be asked when he was born, he replies, it was about the time that such a ship, or such an European factor arrived at Whidah. They keep no equation of time, and observe no distinction of hours, days, weeks, or stated periods; and they only know the variations of the seasons by the revolutions of the moon. But in music they give evident proofs of taste superior to most unpolished nations. Their harp is really a musical instrument: it is strung with reeds of different sizes, which they touch with great dexterity, and dance in exact time to their own music, and in a pleasing manner.

The Whidahs, even the poorest, have each forty or fifty wives; the nobles generally keep three or four hundred; and the king has seldom fewer than three thousand. Polygamy is allowed in its utmost extent; and fruitfulness is so much esteemed, that the female who has given anti-nuptial proof of this happy quality is always preferred to the chastest virgin. When a man falls in love with a girl, he asks her of her parents, who seldom refuse their consent, provided she be of a proper age; in the performance of this matter consists the whole of the marriage contract. But though the connubial rites are accompanied with no ceremony, and divorces are not attended with any legal obstructions, the decrees, as we have already seen, are extremely severe against adultery. Unmarried women,

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however, are permitted to indulge their amours without reprehension, being considered as their own mistresses.

Both sexes undergo a species of circumcision; but we have in vain endeavoured to trace this custom to its origin; the natives generally answering, that they received it from their ancestors. This operation takes place at different periods, being performed at four, five, six, or ten years of age. It is common to see two hundred little children in one family. Hence arises the wealth of the parent, who generally sells all of them, except the eldest. Children are treated with the utmost parental indulgence; and, in return, behave with the greatest veneration and respect to their parents, whom they never address but on their knees. The elder brother is peculiarly respected by the rest of his brethren; and on the decease of his father succeeds to his fortune and effects, and even to his women, with whom, from that time, he lives in quality of husband. His own mother, however, is excepted, who has a separate habitation allotted her, and a stipend appointed for her subsistence.

Fevers, dysenteries, and other diseases, are frequent in this country, and the inhabitants are diligent in the use of medicine, and of sacrifices to the gods for the recovery of their health. Indeed, so fearful are they of death, that the very sound of the word is attended with visible emotion; and it is even reckoned a capital punishment for any negro to pronounce this awful syllable before the king. The burying-place of the sovereigns and nobles of Whidah is in a gallery erected by their sons. The body is laid in

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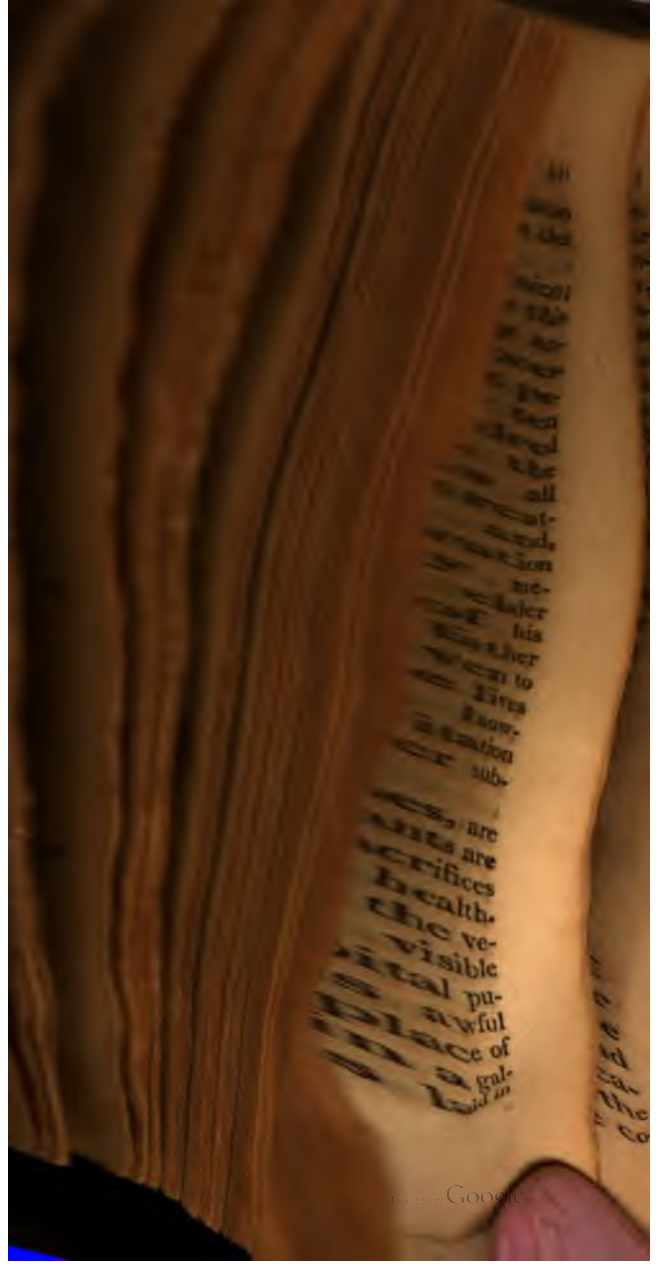

the middle of the vault, and near it are placed the buckler, sword, bow, and arrows of the deceased. The heir always mourns a whole year, during which period he secludes himself from society, and quits his usual attire; and though he is at full liberty to enjoy the property, immediately after the death of his father, yet so strongly rooted is his affection, grief, or prejudice, that he firmly adheres to this custom, which has an appearance of decency, but certainly savours very much of gloomy superstition and unconquerable horror.

The people of Whidah believe in one God, who punishes vice and rewards virtue; who causes the clouds to rain, the heavens to thunder, and the sun to shine. The residence of this Being, they think, is in heaven, from whence he governs the world with justice and mercy. They have also some obscure and confused ideas of a place of torment, of an infernal spirit, and of the eternal existence of the soul after its separation from the body. But with these sentiments they blend others equally impious and absurd. They account it presumption to supplicate the Eternal Spirit, and have, therefore, substituted inferior deities, to whom they pay adoration: these are the serpent, which holds pre-eminence among the subordinate divinities; the trees; the sea; and Agoya, the reputed god of counsels; exclusive of the fetiches, which they worship in common with the other inhabitants of this part of the globe.

They deduce the origin of the adoration of the snake from a signal victory gained over the natives of Ardrah, by its being elevated in the hands of the high-priest during the whole of the

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engagement. Credulity having attributed the success of the battle to this religious manœuvre, a splendid temple was immediately erected for the residence of the patron of the country, priests were appointed, and all the accommodations established, which are usually attendant on Pagan deities. This snake is pretended to be immortal, and its worshippers vainly imagine that they now adore the very animal, which procured their ancestors the above-mentioned advantage. They sacrifice to it every year a certain number of beautiful virgins; and it has become so prolific, as to produce such an infinity of deities, that, in all probability, they would overspread the country, were it not for the assistance of other animals, and especially the hogs, who are excessively fond of these divinities.

Punishment, however, is frequently inflicted on the hogs and other animals for taking such liberties with their gods; and should a human being have the presumption to destroy a single snake, he would be condemned to suffer the most inhuman death. This was fatally experienced by the first English settlers on this coast, who having killed a serpent of the sacred species, were all massacred by the natives. The office of the marabuts, or priests of the grand serpent, is continued in one single family, of which the high-priest is the head, and to whom they are all subservient. They unite spiritual with secular employments; but the former, as in all other countries where ignorance prevails, is both the easier and more lucrative profession.

They worship trees as the guardians and patrons of health, and the sick and lame resort to their priests, with all the ardour which enthusi-

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asm can possibly inspire. The sea, also, has its priests, who, when it becomes stormy and tempestuous, having sacrificed a bull or a sheep on its bank, the blood of the victim is suffered to unite with its waters, but the carcase is carried to the habitation of the priest, whose property it becomes. The external appearance of the god of counsels, who is generally consulted by the people, before any matter of importance is undertaken, is a little misshapen figure of black earth, which is placed on a red pedestal, adorned with cowries, and crowned with lizards, serpents, and red feathers. Before this idol stand three calabashes, in which are put fifteen or twenty balls of indurated earth. When the suppliant explains his business, and makes his oblations to the god, the marabut throws the balls a certain number of times out of one calabash into another, and when an odd number remains, the priest declares in his favour, and asserts that the deity is propitious to his views. Thus have the most enlightened and the most illiterate nations fallen into religious errors equally absurd; and when we recollect that the wise, the great, the learned Greeks and Romans formerly practised the same as the people of Whidah, we ought to pity the weakness of the human understanding, and learn properly to prize the inestimable blessings of divine revelation, which alone is able to direct the mind in search of religious truth, free us from the bonds of superstition, and animate us with the substantial hope of an everlasting felicity!

With respect to the regal succession, the crown is hereditary, and passes inviolably to the eldest; yet, on extraordinary occasions, the no-

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bles arrogate to themselves the power of electing a younger son, as was the case in the year 1725. But though the eldest son of the reigning monarch is presumptive heir to the throne, he must have been born after his father's accession, otherwise he is only regarded as a private subject. An invariable and extraordinary custom prevails, that as soon as the heir apparent is born, he is conveyed to a remote province of the kingdom, and committed to the care of an obscure person, who is prohibited, under pain of death, from treating him otherwise than as his own child, and from giving him the slightest hint of his birth and quality. In this situation he remains till the death of his father, and is kept totally ignorant of his destined rank; and when a late king was called upon to fill the throne, the nobles, who acquainted him with his good fortune, found their intended sovereign feeding the hogs of his supposed father.

Several months pass, and sometimes even years, before the young king is crowned, or entrusted with the management of the state; yet during that period he appears in all the external badges of royalty; but his name is not mentioned in any of the public acts. At length, when the nobles think him sufficiently instructed in the constitution and laws of his country, to assume the reins of government, they procure his approbation of their conduct, and a ratification of all the laws passed during the interregnum, after which they prepare for the coronation of the monarch, and the voice of joy, of harmony, and congratulation, is heard in every part of the capital, and resounds to the extremities of the kingdom. When the day appointed for the co-

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ronation arrives, victims are sacrificed to the great fetiche; the women of the deceased sovereign are escorted from the palace by a file of musqueteers, preceded by music, and their place is supplied by the young, the handsome, and the gay, in whatever part they can be found. Tumultuous joy resounds throughout the whole kingdom, and continues for several successive days, till pleasure becomes tasteless, and festivity loses its charms.

The new monarch has no sooner ascended the throne of his ancestors, than he is immediately considered as a divinity, and worshipped accordingly. Nevertheless it generally happens, that, on his original ignorance and meanness, he engrafts only effeminacy and lewdness; and, forgetting the great object of his elevation, becomes only studious to gratify the inordinate desires of appetite, and to secure the unbounded gratification of his wishes.

The commerce which Whidah carries on with some enlightened nations, has been the means of introducing into this country a great number of the elegancies and luxuries of Europe, and taste and magnificence are displayed in the imperial palace and houses of the nobility. Remote countries, also, furnish their entertainments with suitable delicacies; and even the most refined people would esteem their table, equipage, and attendance, elegant and splendid.

In the year 1727, an extraordinary revolution happened in Whidah. Effeminacy and luxury, the effects of ease and affluence, had crept in among the inhabitants, formerly so active and laborious; and the king, who had ascended the throne at the age of fourteen, had delegated the

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concerns of government entirely to the nobility, and abandoned himself to indolence and pleasure. These circumstances stimulated the brave and politic king of Dahomey, who possessed an inland country, and who had suffered some unmerited insults from the monarch of Whidah, to attempt the conquest of the kingdom. He had already obtained possession of the neighbouring nation of Ardrah, where he proposed to remain in peace and tranquillity, had he not been provoked by the king of Whidah. Truro Andati, the sovereign of Dahomey, commenced his attack on the most northern province belonging to the Whidahs, in which a negro chief ruled, whose government was hereditary. The governor immediately requested succours from the king, whom his favourites and courtiers rendered deaf to his remonstrances. Finding, therefore, that help could not be obtained, he took the resolution of submitting to Andati; and his voluntary homage procured him mild and favourable terms from the conqueror.

A free passage was thus opened into the kingdom of Whidah, and a river was the only obstruction that remained between the confines and the capital. The king of Dahomey encamped on the opposite bank, in expectation that the passage of the river would be disputed by the enemy. In this opinion, however, he was mistaken: the superstitious and effeminate Whidahs placing the whole of their security in the interposition and assistance of their gods, assembled with their priests on the bank opposite to the king of Dahomey, and having carried thither all their moveable deities, sacrificed to the grand serpent; after which ceremony they

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returned to the city, in full assurance that the efficacy of what they had done would impede the further progress of the enemy. Truro Andati perceiving that the defence of the river was committed entirely to the divinities of the Whidahs, immediately dispatched a body of troops towards the capital with colours displayed, and amidst the sound of musical instruments. The king of Whidah, informed of the approach of the enemy, fled with precipitation from the palace, and, attended by his court and females, retired to an island not far from the kingdom of Popo. Great numbers of the inhabitants were drowned, in attempting to follow their sovereign; and the rest took shelter in woods and thickets, where, endeavouring to avoid the sword, many of them perished by famine.

In the mean time, the detachment of Dahomans, which had entered the city, meeting with no resistance, set fire to the palace, the flames of which informed the king of the success of his troops. Upon this signal, Truro Andati marched his whole army across the river, and found, what he could never have been brought to believe, had it not been proved by ocular demonstration, that a whole nation had abandoned to the enemy, their property, their wives, children, and gods, without attempting any thing in their defence. The Dahomans paid not to the gods that regard and veneration, in which they had been hitherto held by the superstitious Whidahs: on the contrary, finding every house filled with snakes, they broiled them upon charcoal, and said, "they had never before dined on divinities; but as these gods had often feasted upon

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human sacrifices, it was only just and reasonable that they also should treat in their turn."

Having possessed himself of the capital, and received the submission of the principal persons of Whidah, the king of Dahomey returned, in order as well to render the conquest of Ardrah more complete, as to prosecute a war in which he had been engaged with the king of Yos. During this period, an European, of the name of Testesole, to whom had been delegated the management of the affairs belonging to the English establishment in Whidah, conceived the idea of restoring the deposed monarch to his throne and dignity, and communicated his design to the king of Popo. That sovereign readily entered into the views of Testesole, and promised to assist him in the execution of his plan. Accordingly, they raised a body of troops under the command of the deposed monarch, and a faithful minister named Ossu. The king of Dahomey received the account of this revolt with the greatest astonishment, and wondered that a prince, who had been so negligent in defending his crown and kingdom, should endeavour to regain them by force of arms. Truro Andati was at that time in no condition to undertake a fresh war: he had lost a great number of men in an engagement with the king of Yos; and he had dispatched most of his remaining forces to the different parts of the sea-coast. For extricating himself, however, out of this difficulty, he hit upon a stratagem, no less happy in the contrivance, than successful in the event. Having assembled a great number of women, he caused them to be clothed and armed like men, and formed into companies, which had

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their proper officers, colours, and music. The front line of every company was composed of men, in order to deceive the enemy, and, if necessary, to sustain the first shock. The Whidahs being informed of the march of this numerous army, were struck with consternation and dismay, proportioned to the suddenness of the event, and the timidity and effeminacy of the people. They immediately abandoned their king and fled; nor could all the endeavours of that unfortunate prince induce them to return to their duty. Truro Andati, therefore, retained possession of the kingdom of Whidah, which was afterwards governed by a viceroy, dependent on the king of Dahomey; but the people were permitted the use of their religion and laws.

The last kingdom on the Slave Coast is that of Ardrah; which is only of very contracted limits, and is likewise tributary to the king of Dahomey, who reduced this country about the same time as that of Whidah. It is divided into Great and Little Ardrah; under the former is comprehended all the maritime coast; and under the latter, the interior parts of the country. The principal towns worthy of notice are Jachen, Offra, Great Foro, and Assem. Jachen, which received its name from the first factor resident there, is a place of considerable extent, surrounded by a deep ditch, and where the English and Dutch had formerly settlements. Before the subjugation of this kingdom by Truro Andati, this city was the residence of a phidalgo, or prince, who lodged in a splendid palace, and lived in a very elegant style. But the palace of Jachen was burnt to the ground,

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notwithstanding the prince submitted himself to the king of Dahomey. To the north of this place stands Offra, a considerable city, where the English and Dutch have elegant settlements, proportioned to the advantages they derive from their commerce. Farther north lies Great Foro, a populous though inelegant place; which, however, contains a curiosity in this part of the world, namely, an inn for the accommodation of travellers, where the provisions of the country, and pito beer, are both plentiful and cheap.

Still farther north is the metropolis, called Assem by the natives, and Great Ardrah by the Europeans. This was the ancient residence of the kings of Ardrah, extending five or six leagues in circumference, and containing two royal palaces, constructed with taste and magnificence, and internally decorated with a variety of useful and ornamental furniture. The gardens were spacious and laid out with a genuine simplicity of taste, which was not in the least indebted to the rules of art, but which seemed to surpass and leave them all at a remote distance; where the elegant parterres, the groves and serpentine walks, and the murmurs of a running brook, conduced to the beauty and the pleasures of the place. The Euphrates encompasses one half of the city. The buildings are made of clay, covered with straw; and the streets are kept in the greatest order and neatness. The inhabitants of this town treat Europeans with great civility and respect, each distinct nation having a separate quarter allotted them. The Dutch carry on a considerable trade with Ardrah; and the commerce of the

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English in this kingdom, though less extensive, is not less profitable. This traffic, which consists of slaves, cotton-cloths, and a blue stone called acori, is settled with the sovereign or high priest. Various gifts are presented by the captains of European vessels to the king, royal family, and principal officers of state, for the liberty of trading.

The slaves, who are annually exported, to the number of three thousand, are prisoners made in war, criminals whose punishments have been commuted, insolvent debtors, and the wives and relations of those who have disobeyed the monarch, and thereby incurred the royal displeasure. To the king chiefly belongs the greatest number of these unhappy wretches, who are examined with the utmost circumspection before the bargain is made, and from this group the lame and the maimed are excluded. Those who are approved, are then numbered; and to the indelible disgrace of the callous and detestable dealer in human flesh be it recorded, that a red-hot iron is made use of to imprint his name or arms on each selected victim, for the purpose of preventing any escape or exchange. The devoted victims are then stowed in the holds of the ships, where they are supported with bread and water, having been previously stripped naked, and in this miserable condition are exported to America. Europeans, in all bargains for slaves, commonly pay one half of the price in cowries, brought from the Maldives, which are the principal currency of the kingdom; the other moiety generally consists of goods of the manufacture of their own nation.

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This is, in general, a pleasant and fertile country, and produces wheat, millet, yams, potatoes, lemons, oranges, cocoa-nuts, and palm-wine. The inhabitants of the sea-coast are employed in fishing and making salt, which is disposed of in the interior provinces; while the natives of the inland parts are chiefly engaged in agriculture and breeding of cattle; in the former of which occupations they deserve distinguished commendations for diligence and indefatigable industry. The air is insalubrious, and fatal to European constitutions. Of the several diseases, with which the inhabitants of Ardrah are afflicted, the small-pox is the most common and destructive. The natives, who escape the ravages of this dreadful disorder, are robust, healthy, and vigorous. They prefer the language of Alghemi to the vernacular tongue, as being more elegant and sweet; but they have no written characters of either of them; though the king and nobility speak and read Portuguese with great fluency and propriety. The common people make use of a small cord tied in knots, to each of which they affix certain ideas, and by means of them convey their sentiments to a considerable distance.

The dress of the men greatly resembles that of the Whidahs, though it is inferior both in elegance and splendour. But the women carry their passion for dress to an exorbitant height, and are clothed in the finest satins, chintzes, and brocades, and adorned with a profusion of gold and other ornaments. Both sexes pay the most scrupulous regard to cleanliness, and wash themselves every morning and evening, and at the same time make the most liberal use of perfumes

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and aromatic herbs. The usual food of the people consists of pork, beef, mutton, goats' and dogs' flesh, together with rice, fruits, roots, pulse, and all kinds of vegetables. Their bread is made into cakes; and their chief beverage is a sort of beer, called pito, mixed with water.

Polygamy is here allowed in the utmost latitude, and the men marry as many wives as they are able to maintain; and as the general deportment of the women is lascivious and loose, little ceremony is required in obtaining their consent. Love, or rather lust, sets all on a level; parity of birth and circumstances, with settlements and portions, being neither regarded nor required. The nobility generally contract their children at nine or ten years of age; but consummation is deferred till nature indicates maturity: the nuptials are then celebrated with great pomp, and every species of licentiousness is fully gratified. But though a plurality of wives is permitted, adultery is no less frequent than in those countries where the men are restricted to a single female; and the women, on their part ungratified in their desires, and neglected by their husbands, court the attention of strangers, by the most wanton and indecent behaviour. Dancing is considered as the criterion of female accomplishments; and so much do they esteem it, that seminaries are established for their instruction in its various figures and gesticulations.

Instead of a public burying-place, the natives of Ardrah are interred in their houses, in a vault appropriated to that purpose. All funeral obsequies are performed with great pomp and ceremony. The interment of the king differed in

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nothing from that of his subjects, except that three months after his death, a certain number of slaves are sacrificed to his manes, and buried by his side.

Though the natives of Ardrah are perhaps the least addicted to superstition of any people on this coast, the number of their priests is infinite; and persons of the highest distinction deem it an honour to maintain them in their own houses. They have some faint and confused notion of an almighty, superintending power, who fixes the era of their birth and death, and is able to confer happiness or misery in this world; but beyond the present scene of existence, they form no conceptions. They are alarmed at the least appearance of danger; and having no idea of a future state, meet the approaches of death with the greatest degree of horror and dismay. The marabut, or chief priest, who pretends to the gift of prescience, is treated with extreme veneration and respect. The manner in which he is believed to foretel future events, is by conversing with an image, about the size of a child, which is painted white according to their ideas of the devil. The natives assemble every six months to interrogate this fetiche respecting their future fortune, and to offer sacrifices to the deity; and their questions are answered in a low tone of voice, which they are firmly persuaded proceeds from the image.

The fetiches, however, are as arbitrary as the will of the marabut, and consist of animate and inanimate objects, birds of the air, beasts of the field, mountains, rivers, and rocks. The priests exercise the medical as well as the sacerdotal art, and are well skilled in the powers of sim-

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ples and decoctions. When they find these expedients fail, and that the patient thereby receives no benefit, they assume their sacred office, and prescribe sacrifices and offerings to the deities, as the price of health, and the means of convalescence.

SECTION III.

Gold Coast.

THE Gold Coast, which received its appellation from its producing such immense quantities of that precious metal, is bounded by Megritia on the north, by the Slave Coast on the east, by the ocean on the south, and by the Ivory Coast on the west; extending about two hundred miles along the shore. The French and Portuguese contend for the honour of discovering this coast. Some of the French writers assert that this part of the world was known to their nation before the Portuguese commenced their discoveries. In 1382, three ships having sailed from France arrived at Commendo, and the following year the French merchants erected a strong fort, where the village of Elmina now stands. This colony continued to increase, and its commerce to flourish, till the civil wars in France occasioned its falling into decay in 1413.

The Portuguese observing the great advantages which the merchants of Dieppe had received by their commerce to Guinea for the space of fifty years, equipped a ship at Lisbon under the protection of Don Henry, for the sole purpose of making discoveries on this coast. The vessel accordingly sailed from Portugal, and arriving in this port during the rainy season, the crew

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fell sick of various disorders, of which many died. They resolved therefore to leave so inhospitable a shore, but being ignorant of the tides and winds prevalent in this part of the world, were driven on the island of St. Thomas, which they colonized. The court of Lisbon, eager in the pursuit of wealth, and ardent in promoting the interest of commerce, soon fitted out a fleet to strengthen and secure this infant state. In a little time they extended their discoveries to Benin, and at length arrived at Akra on the Gold Coast, and erected factories in different parts. After the death of Alphonso, king of Portugal, in whose reign these voyages had been undertaken, John, his successor, established a Guinea company, with exclusive privileges; and the profits of this new corporation proving very considerable, they multiplied their colonies, and built several other forts on the coast.

In the reign of Henry the third, king of France, tranquillity being again restored to that kingdom, the French renewed their voyages to the Grain and Gold Coast; but such was the terror which the Portuguese had excited in the natives, that they would scarcely accept any overtures. At length the inhabitants of Akra, provoked to the utmost by the severities exercised by the Portuguese, attacked the fort situated in that province, massacred the garrison, and rased the walls to the ground. The credit of the Portuguese immediately began to decline; and from the year 1578, in which this occurrence happened, the trade of other Europeans with the coast of Guinea commenced, and they partook of that wealth, which had been for a long time engrossed by a single nation.

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It was not, however, till 1595, that the Dutch made a voyage to this coast, and treating the natives with great civility, offered them a variety of goods at a low rate. The Portuguese endeavoured to obstruct the progress of a people, who, they foresaw, would prove dangerous and powerful rivals, and represented them as a nation, whose only principle was gain. At length, however, the Dutch, by means of their intrigues with the king of Sabo, obtained permission to build a fort, which was accordingly erected. After many years, and several attempts which proved unsuccessful, they made themselves masters of the Portuguese fort at Elmina. The Dutch having thus acquired a powerful ascendency in this part of Africa, they established a government perfectly despotic and tyrannical: they took cognizance of all matters, and constituted themselves the sole dispensers of liberty and property, life and death, to the miserable and servile natives.

The English began to visit this coast about the same period as the Dutch; but the latter having strongly fortified themselves on the coast of Africa, they took and destroyed the settlements of the former. In 1672, however, Charles the second, king of England, formed a corporation, called the Royal African Company, which, in spite of the jealousy and endeavours of their enemies, raised the English commerce on this coast equal to the trade of the Dutch, and superior to that of any other nation.

The extensiveness of this coast is so great, that in sharing such an immense tract of country, there was no occasion for Europeans to entertain any destructive jealousy towards one another; but commerce resembles ambition, and knows no

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bounds. This competition, however, among the new settlers, has not been entirely useless to the negroes, who have thereby been made acquainted with the price and value of European merchandise, of which they must otherwise have remained ignorant; and they have also by these means acquired a profit, which, if it has not rendered them opulent, has at least made them comfortable. But what can compensate for the loss of liberty! or what so dreadful and deplorable, as to be torn from their relations, their friends, their country, from every thing near and dear to them, and to be hurried into a state of misery and servitude, worse than death itself!

——————Quid non mortalia pectora cogis,
Auri sacra fames!

Will means never be used for abolishing this inhuman traffic, which is peculiarly disgraceful and criminal in the professors of Christianity?

This coast is divided into several petty kingdoms, which received their appellation from the principal towns: the names of these are Axim, Anta, Adom, Jaby, Commary, Fetu, Sabo, Fantyn, Acron, Agona, and Aquamboe.

The canton of Axim produces rice, watermelons, ananas, bananas, cocoa, oranges, lemons, together with other fruits and vegetables in great plenty. Maize, however, by reason of the humidity of the soil, is neither abundant nor excellent. Rice is exported into the several kingdoms of the coast, in return for which the natives receive millet, yams, potatoes, and palm-oil. Axim also produces great numbers of black cattle, sheep, and goats. The government of this state is composed of two bodies of the natives;

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the *cabaceroes*, or chief men, and the *manceroes*, or young men. In this republic, the cognizance of all civil affairs belongs to the former; but whatever is of general concern, and may be properly called national, equally appertains to both. For instance, these two bodies, constituting the legislative power, determine with respect to the propriety of declaring war, of contracting alliances, and imposing taxes; and form a constitution nearly similar to a British house of peers and commons, where no act is passed till the assent of each is obtained. Murder is punished by death or a pecuniary fine; the former is seldom executed, except when the criminal is poor, and unable to comply with the demands of the judge. The only punishment for theft is restitution, or the paying of a fine proportioned to the quality of the offender. The creditor may seize on the property of the debtor double the amount of what is due to him; but the execution of this law being deemed oppressive, the most usual method is to settle the account by arbitration. Aquamboe, the capital of this state, stands under the cannon of the Dutch fort, and is protected by a thick wood, which covers the whole declivity of a neighbouring hill. The houses are separated by groves of cocoas and other fruit-trees, planted in parallel lines, and forming an elegant vista. These avenues, with the beauty of the prospect, render the Dutch fort one of the most desirable settlements in Guinea; but the peculiar dampness of the air, and the insalubrity of the climate, greatly tend to accelerate the hand of fate.

The kingdom of Anta is bounded on the north by the country of Adom, on the north-east by

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Mampo, on the west by Axim, and on the south and south-east by the ocean; its extent from east to west being about ten leagues. The country is mountainous, and covered by large trees, among which are many beautiful villages. Formerly Anta was a potent and populous kingdom, and inhabited by a bold and warlike people, who annoyed the Europeans by their frequent incursions. The continual wars, however, in which they have been engaged with Adom and other neighbouring states, have greatly depopulated the country, enfeebled the people, and left no vestige of their ancient glory. The vallies are rich and extensive, and the land produces plenty of rice, maize, sugar-canes, yams, and potatoes. The country is not less beautiful than rich, affording bread, wine, oil, and animal food, in great abundance. But with the number of the people, the spirit of the few remaining inhabitants is also departed. Desponding, and abject, they shelter themselves under the cannon of the Dutch fort, and suffer the greatest part of the land to lie neglected and without cultivation. It is deplorable to view this country in its present state, and to reflect on its once flourishing condition; and nothing, perhaps, more fully displays the direful effects of war, the sins of fell ambition, and the pride of man.

Sukonda is a pleasant village, noted for the mildness and salubrity of the air. Formerly the French had an establishment here; but, at present, the English and Dutch are the only European nations that maintain forts at this place. For some time, their commerce was on the decline, owing to the mutual jealousies of the

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English and Dutch, and to a rivalship that was prejudicial to both parties. Their animosities encouraged the natives, who having driven the former from the fort, pressed hard on the enemy's rear; upon which the English requested the protection of a Dutch ship, which at that time lay in the road. "Do you imagine," said the captain, "that we take any concern in your misfortunes?" But we must perish then, replied the English. "Perish," rejoined the Dutchman, "and may God have mercy on your souls."

There are several other European settlements in different parts of the kingdom. Eastward lies the country of Juby, the inhabitants of which are extremely poor, though the fertility of the soil would soon enrich them were they not exposed to the continual incursions and depredations of their neighbours, who spoil and destroy what they are not able to carry away. The kingdom of Commendo is only of small extent, and formerly made a part of Sabu and Fetu, but has since been erected into a separate and distinct monarchy. The principal city, which is the residence of the king, and is called Guaffo, is pretty large and populous, and contains about four hundred houses. This kingdom produces very little rice, but the vallies are fertile and agreeable, and the hills covered with wood, which affords a delightful prospect. The natives are brave and warlike; and so numerous, that in this small kingdom, the monarch can raise an army of twenty thousand men; his ordinary body guard being composed of five hundred soldiers. It is believed that Commendo abounds in gold mines, but the king, fearful of

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exciting the avarice of the Europeans, prohibits them from being worked.

The natives of Little Commendo are in general turbulent, cunning, deceitful, and much addicted to stealing. Their employment consists in fishing or commerce, and they act as brokers and factors to their neighbours. The principal commodities for which there is a demand by the negroes of Commendo, are beads, bells, buttons, linen-cloths, and woolen stuffs. The former are again given in exchange for gold; the latter they keep for their own apparel. The English and Dutch have each a fort within musquet-shot of one another; but the advantages, which, in time of peace at least, might be supposed to arise from their vicinity, are in a great measure destroyed by the endless quarrels and jealousies that subsist between the merchants of the two nations.

The kingdom of Fetu is bounded on the west by the river Benja, on the east by Sabu, and on the south by the ocean; being one hundred and sixty miles in length, and nearly as much in breadth. It was formerly so powerful as to inspire all the neighbouring nations with terror, and to render Commendo a tributary state; but the case is now exactly reversed, and it has become entirely dependent on the latter kingdom. At present, the inhabitants are not sufficiently numerous for cultivating the country, which is equally fertile and pleasant as any on this coast. This kingdom was formerly filled with populous villages, and exhibited marks of wealth and plenty. Grain, cattle, oil, and palm-wine, constituted its principal riches; but the groves which shaded the roads, and defended the traveller

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from the rain and the scorching beams of the sun, rendered it peculiarly pleasant and delightful. The name of Cape Coast, by which the English denominate their chief settlement on this coast, is thought to be a corruption of Cabo Corso, the ancient Portuguese appellation. This cape is formed by an angular point, washed on the south and east by the sea, on which stands the English fort. The Portuguese settled here in 1610, and erected the citadel of Cape Coast, on a large rock that projects into the sea. A few years afterwards they were dislodged by the Dutch, to whom this place owes its principal strength, and who, in their turn, were driven out by admiral Holmes, in 1664. It is so exceedingly strong, as well by nature as art, that the Dutch, under de Ruyter, found it impossible to repossess themselves of it; and in 1672, it was confirmed to the English by the treaty of Breda. The African company's gardens at this settlement are no less than eight miles in circumference, and produce every kind of fruit common to the most benignant climates.

In this kingdom, also, is the Dutch fort of La Mina, or St. George Elmina; which standing in the centre of the Gold Coast, is most commodiously situated for the purposes of trade, and the security of the trader. It is placed on a rock, bounded on one side by the ocean, and defended by strong bastions. The building is in the form of a square, and surrounded by a high stone wall, cannon-proof. The town, which contains upwards of two hundred houses, is inhabited by a more civilized people than any among the other negroes, owing to their less restricted intercourse with the European settlers.

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On the north side of the river Benja, the Dutch African company erected the fort of Conradsburgh, on mount St. Jago. They judged it necessary to fortify this hill for the security of Elmina. If this fort be obstinately defended, the enemy cannot attack the citadel by land; but from the moment they get possession of Conradsburgh, they are also masters of Elmina. The form of this fort is quadrangular, with a strong bastion at every corner, and a curtain between each, twelve feet in height; and behind are four batteries, mounted with forty-eight cannon. As this is a post of vast consequence, it is always well supplied with stores and provisions, and kept in constant repair.

The kingdom of Sabu has not attracted notice from its extent, which is only two leagues from east to west, and four from north to south. The productions of this part of Africa, are Indian corn, potatoes, yams, bananas, oranges, lemons, and other fruits; besides palm-oil, with which the natives of Akra and Axim are regularly supplied. The inhabitants are considered as the most industrious people on the Gold Coast, and are constantly employed in cultivating the ground, or trading with the Europeans, or Alkanese, who exchange gold for the fish and fruits of Sabu. Fort Nassau, one of the principal settlements belonging to the Dutch, lies in this kingdom, and stands on a rock, which is washed by the sea towards the south. It is nearly of a quadrangular form, and is provided with four batteries and eighteen pieces of cannon, and, excepting Elmina, its walls are the highest of any fort on the coast. The principal ornament and strength of the place, how-

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ever, consists in the towers which flank the angles, and are well provided with artillery, small arms, ammunition, and stores.

The kingdom of Fantyn is bounded by Sabu on the west. At Anamboa the English have a pretty strong fort. Near Great Cromartin, and not far from Aga, is Fort Amsterdam, which belongs to the Dutch, and is a strong and pleasant settlement, commanding a large and populous town, the inhabitants of which exercise a variety of employments. The government of this kingdom is vested in a supreme magistrate, called *Braffo*, who, however, possesses not the ensigns or dignity of royalty. He commands their armies in the field, and enjoys more power than any other single person in the nation; but his authority is greatly limited by a council of the people. The natives are a bold and intrepid race, who object not to make use of any means, in which their interest or revenge is concerned.

Acron, Agonna, and Aquamboe, are the only remaining maritime kingdoms of the Gold Coast. In Acron the Dutch have a pretty strong fort. The king is despotic. The natives live under the protection of the inhabitants of Fantyn, enjoy perfect tranquillity, and cultivate their lands in security and peace. Every year produces a plentiful harvest, by means of which they supply the adjacent countries with corn. Harts, hares, partridges, and pheasants, with various other kinds of quadrupeds and wild fowl, are very abundant. Agonna surpasses Acron in extent of territory and number of people, and equals it in fertility and beauty. We are told that this kingdom was formerly governed by a

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woman, who was possessed of a great and magnanimous soul, of much courage and prudence. This princess would never consent to marry, that she might reserve her power undivided; but she kept a young slave, whom she prohibited, under pain of death, from intriguing with any other woman. She, however, changed him for another, that she might have only one at a time. Aquamboe is one of the greatest monarchies on the coast of Guinea. The king is absolute; and the natives are haughty and turbulent. The English, Dutch, and Danes, have erected forts in this kingdom; but their power is very limited, being confined within their fortifications, from whence they make no other excursions, than those which are necessary for commercial purposes. Adom is a populous, fertile, and rich nation, the government of which was formerly monarchical; but the supreme power is at present vested in a council of six lords.

Gold is generally found in the interior parts of the country, where the negroes dig pits, and separate it from the surrounding mould. It is also frequently met with near rivers and falls of water, where the violence of the torrents have washed it down the mountains. Immediately after a heavy shower of rain, these places are visited by hundreds of negro women, furnished with calabashes, which are filled with earth and sand, and a tedious process of washing and rubbing being performed, they will sometimes be found to contain nearly half an ounce of gold, but much oftener less quantities, and frequently not a single particle.

The inhabitants of the Gold Coast, according to the accounts of travellers, are addicted to al-

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most every vice: they are cunning and deceitful; dissemblers, flatterers, thieves, gluttons, and drunkards; extremely avaricious and incontinent. They, however, possess a quick apprehension, a ready wit, and a wonderful presence of mind on all occasions; but they are indolent, lazy, and exceedingly fond of singing and dancing. When engaged in their amusements, if any should come to inform them, that the whole country was on fire, they would reply, "Let it burn." They are handsome and well made. They adorn their hair with a species of coral, and wear hats of European manufacture, if their circumstances will permit. They encircle their legs, arms, necks, and waists, with rings of gold, silver, ivory, or coral; and they suspend from their waist a few yards of silk, or other stuff, which conceals half the leg. The caboceroes, or grandees, are distinguished by having handsome cloth vestments, deer-skin caps, with strings of coral round their heads, and each of them a staff in his hand; without which last article, the insignia of his rank, no grandee ever appears in public. In the articles and disposition of their dress, women of quality display great taste and judgment. The cloth which depends from the waist, is longer than that of the other sex; they decorate their hair in an elegant manner with gold, coral, and ivory; circles of which also ornament their necks, arms, and legs; and they frequently wear a silk veil over their breasts.

In private, the sovereigns of this country are distinguished by no marks of splendor; nor are their ordinary fare and accommodations scarcely superior to those of their meanest subjects; and they have neither guards nor officers to attend

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them. But whenever they appear in public, they assume all the appearance of dignity and royalty, are accompanied by slaves, who carry umbrellas over their heads, and are also attended by a numerous armed guard.

Marriage has but few impediments in this country, where spontaneity of productions gives almost community of possession. If a man fall in love with a young female, he has only to ask the parents' consent, which is seldom refused, unless the woman be entirely averse to marrying. Polygamy, in the utmost latitude, is permitted; and disgust on either side is considered as sufficient to occasion a separation. The women cultivate the ground, and perform all domestic duties; while their husbands indolently spend their time in drinking and smoking; and treat their wives, the first and second excepted, with little tenderness or respect. The former of these is called *mulière grand*, to whom the œconomy of the house is committed; the other is named *bosum*, and is consecrated to the fetiche, or household god.

On the birth of a child, which is attended with little inconvenience to the mother, a priest binds a number of cords, bits of coral, and other articles, about the head, body, arms, and legs, of the infant. These are considered as amulets to prevent or remove sickness and disasters; nor does the child wear any thing besides till he be seven or eight years of age, when a small cloth apron is substituted. It has been remarked, and is worthy of observation, that fewer males than females are born in this country, which may serve in some measure to apologize for the universal system of polygamy, which prevails on this coast.

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The fervour of the climate greatly enervates the natives, who know little of any manual arts. They exhibit, however, much ingenuity in building their canoes, which are of different forms and sizes. They also construct their huts, and make ornamental rings for their personal decorations, in a curious manner.

When attacked by any indisposition, they have recourse to one of their priests, who administers medicines and natural remedies; but should these prove ineffectual in restoring health, he advises them to make sacrifices or offerings to the gods, and which are always appropriated to his own use. When a person dies, all his relations and wives commence a hideous howling, and the youths of his acquaintance, in token of respect, immediately discharge fire-arms. The wives of a man of quality who is dead, have their heads close shaved; and smearing their bodies with a chalky earth, they equip themselves with an old garment, and sally out into the streets, constantly repeating the name of the deceased, with the most piercing lamentations; and this ceremony is continued every day till the corpse be interred. The body of the defunct is put into a coffin, splendidly dressed with fetiches of gold, the finest coral, and other valuable articles, which it is supposed he will have occasion to make use of in the other world. Two or three days afterwards, the relations and friends of the deceased assemble, and the corpse is carried to the grave, preceded by the youths, who continue to discharge their fire-arms, and followed by a confused multitude of people, who use different uncouth attitudes and expressions. The corpse being deposited in the earth, the company ad-

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journ to the house of the deceased, where they are entertained for several successive days.

Public notice is given of the day appointed for the funeral of a king, not only to his own subjects, but to those of other nations, which occasions an immense assemblage of people. The monarch is arrayed in the most splendid dress; and several slaves are sacrificed, especially his bosom and favourite women, who are to attend him in a future state. Such friendless wretches as are so unfortunate as to be within reach, are also added to the celebration of this barbarous ceremony.

The natives of the Gold Coast, in general, acknowledge one supreme, self-existent Being, to whom they ascribe the attributes of omnipotence and omniscience; but, like the other negroes, they offer up their adorations, and sacrifices to their fetiches. Many among these people entertain a very whimsical opinion concerning the creation; when, they suppose, the Almighty formed black and white men, and gave them their choice of two sorts of gifts, gold and learning; the blacks, therefore, chusing the former, the latter became the property of the whites. We have frequently had occasion to mention the fetiches, which are a species of idols, composed of different substances, in the different countries where the worship of them prevails. On this coast, they consist of an ornament worn on the head, or any substance consecrated to some invisible spirit; for a piece of a rock, fish, or tree, is frequently raised to this distinction. Each feticheer, or priest, has a fetiche of his own, peculiar in its construction; but they are in general large wooden pipes full of earth, oil, blood, bones

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of men and beasts, feathers, hair and the like; and these strange compounds are supposed to contain great talismanic virtue. Public exercises of devotion are sometimes performed by a whole town or nation, on account of droughts, floods, or any great calamity, when the chiefs consult the priests what means are most likely to avert the divine wrath, and the people scrupulously perform whatever he thinks proper to enjoin.

The negroes suppose their fetiches endowed with intelligence, and possessed of the power of bestowing present good or evil; but their ideas of a future state are various and inconsistent. Some imagine that after death persons are removed into another world, where they assume the same characters, and live in nearly the same manner as they had done before, without receiving any extraordinary reward for virtue, or suffering any punishment for vice; while others believe, that the deceased are conveyed to a famous river, called Bosmanque, which is situated in a distant inland country, where their god interrogates them respecting their moral conduct, and whether they have religiously observed the days dedicated to the fetiche, abstained from all meats on these occasions, and inviolably kept their word. If they appear to have acquitted themselves with honesty and propriety, they are immediately wafted across the river, to a land abounding with every thing that can contribute to their felicity; but if, on the contrary, they have behaved themselves improperly, the god plunges them into the river, where they are lost in eternal oblivion.

The natives of this part of Guinea observe an extraordinary annual ceremony, which consists

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in what is called banishing the devil out of their towns. Before they commence this strange ceremony, unbounded licentiousness reigns for the space of eight days; during which period, the only preventive of disagreeable consequences is to ply the populace with liquors, which keep them in a state of stupefaction. When that time is expired, the inhabitants run after one another in a confused, disorderly manner, and throw stones and dirt at the supposed fiend, shouting with the most horrid outcries. Having proceeded to what they deem a sufficient distance, they return to their houses, which their women have washed in the mean time, and on these occasions scour every domestic utensil, in order to purify them from all previous pollution.

In the inland parts of the Gold Coast, cows are very numerous, but so small, that a full-grown heffer seldom weighs more than two hundred and fifty pounds, and their flesh is tough and very indifferent food. Sheep are also plentiful, but very diminutive; and they are covered with hair instead of wool. Their flesh does not partake of the taste of mutton: it is dry and lean, and is seldom eaten by persons of delicate appetites. In short, all the animals on this coast are inferior in size and quality to those of Europe. Their horses are not sufficiently high for keeping a tall man's legs from the ground.

Of the wild animals, the elephants in this country are of vast magnitude, being frequently thirteen feet in height; but they do not appear to possess that docility, which so much distinguishes those in the eastern parts of the world. Tigers are very numerous throughout the whole of this coast, and more destructive than all the

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other beasts of prey; and a man that enters a wood unarmed runs the greatest hazard of losing his life; but they seldom molest the human species, so long as they can subsist on the flesh of brutes. Jackalls, wild boars, and apes, abound in the woods. Of the last of these there is great variety, some of which, when they stand erect, measure five feet in height; and they are so sagacious, that the negroes are convinced they can speak, but that they are prevented from making use of that faculty, lest they should be obliged to labour. The ourang-outang is also frequently met with. Among the animals common to the Gold Coast, are likewise harts, beautiful antelopes, hares, porcupines, civets, and wild cats.

Of the feathered race, the principal are wild and tame ducks, pheasants of various sorts, partridges, snipes, parrots, with other beautiful birds peculiar to the torrid zone. Every river abounds with crocodiles and other amphibious animals of the same form. Reptiles of various kinds are immensely numerous, most of which are poisonous; but a snake, about a yard in length, and variegated with white, black, and yellow spots, is venomous in the highest and most extraordinary degree. There are also serpents of enormous size, and measure upwards of sixteen feet in length, but their malignity does not appear proportionable to their magnitude. Scorpions are also in great numbers on the Gold Coast, together with centipedes, toads, and large venomous spiders; but of all the insects of this country, the ants or termites are the most remarkable: they are divided into a variety of species of different colours and sizes; they raise hillocks to the height of ten feet, or

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build nests of prodigious magnitude on the tops of trees, from whence they proceed in myriads to the forts of the Europeans, and oblige them to leave their beds in the middle of the night. No animal can withstand them, for what is wanted in size, is sufficiently compensated by numbers. In short, the industry, economy, and internal regulations of these creatures, excite the admiration of every philosophical traveller.

SECTION IV.

Ivory Coast.

THE Ivory or Tooth Coast derives its appellation from the great quantity of elephants' teeth which it produces; and is bounded by Nigritia on the north, by the Gold Coast on the east, by the ocean on the south, and by the Grain Coast on the west; but it is impossible to define its proper limits, though it is generally included between Cape Palmas on the west, and Cape Apollonia on the east. It is subdivided into the Quaqua, the Malagantes, and the Ivory Coast proper; in all of which, except near Cape Apollonia, the land is so low, level, and uniform, that it is with difficulty any particular place can be distinguished.

The whole country within the limits of the Ivory Coast is fertile in rice, peas, beans, citrons, oranges, cocoa-nuts, and sugar-canes, which might be cultivated to great advantage. There are also large tracts of land, in which the negroes sow Indian corn, a species of grain which is believed to have been imported hither by the Portuguese. In short, this district is the most po-

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pulous, salubrious, and pleasant, of any on the whole coast of Guinea. Palm-wine and oil are plentiful; together with a species of fruit called by the natives *tombo*, from which they make a strong and pleasant sort of wine. The inland parts, and especially the mountains, abound with such a number of elephants, that the natives are obliged to lodge in rocks and caverns during the night, in order to secure themselves from their attack. They also make use of every possible contrivance to defend their plantations from the ravages of these sagacious animals, and lay traps for them, in which many are caught. There is also abundance of cows, sheep, goats, and hogs, which are of course exceedingly cheap; and a few shillings will purchase a quantity of beef, mutton, or pork, sufficient for the maintenance of a family for a long time. The coast likewise produces excellent fish in great profusion and variety, including several remarkable ones, among which we may enumerate the sea-devil, the zingana, and the sea-bull. The first, which is also called the horned fish, has a square form, is about three feet in length and five in circumference; the head resembles that of a hog, excepting that it terminates in a proboscis, like an elephant. The zingana is a voracious creature, having a flat head, large eyes, and round body. The fins are strong, and assist it to dart with incredible rapidity on its prey. It will devour any thing; but is particularly fond of human flesh. The sea-bull is about twenty-five feet long, and proportionably thick; the most remarkable parts of this fish are projecting angles from its body of a hard and horny substance, and so sharp, that a

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stroke with them is extremely dangerous. It has four eyes; but its flesh, though eagerly sought after by the negroes, is very indifferent.

The natives of Quaqua, or the eastern division of this coast, are tall and well-proportioned, but their aspect inspires strangers with disgust; yet they are the most rational, civilized, and polite people in all Guinea. They drink a sort of wine, mixed with water, to prevent the effects of the intoxicating quality which it possesses. Drunkenness, indeed, is reckoned by them a crime so odious and detestable, that it is prohibited by the laws under the severest penalties, and even under pain of death. They very properly regard it as the aggregate of every enormity, by reducing men to a level with the brute creation, prompting them to infringe the laws of society which it deprives of useful members, and destroying the effects of the best laws and government. Their manner of living, however, according to our ideas of decency and neatness, is coarse and indelicate. They boil rice, fish, fowl, and elephant's flesh together, which, being mixed with palm-oil, is esteemed an excellent dish.

The natives dislike the European custom of embracing one another at parting, or after a long absence, and regard it as an unnatural action. They consider long nails as ornamental; and are fond of long hair. The common people wear only a piece of cloth round the waist; but the more opulent are covered with a kind of cloak that has long sleeves; wear scymitars or short swords by their sides; and have their legs circumscribed with rings of iron, interspersed with bells, in the number of which consist all their grandeur and dignity. The features of the

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women are regular and proportioned, and their eyes sparkling; and they would be considered as beauties even in Europe. Some of the females adorn their hair with plates of pure gold, in the fabrication of which there is great emulation among the artists.

Every son constantly follows the profession of his father; and this regulation is so firmly established, and so invariably observed, that the whole country perhaps does not furnish a single instance to the contrary. It is, however, a custom that is attended with many inconveniencies, and these hereditary occupations are far from promoting the mechanical arts, the meanest efforts of an European being infinitely beyond their imitation, and even their comprehension. Like most of the other nations, they conceive it impossible for a person to discover the sentiments of another man by a delineation of crooked characters. When, therefore, they have been sent with a note, the contents of which were previously told them, they have jeeringly inquired of the person, for whom it was intended, what it contained; and being informed, their surprise was inconceivable, and they imagined that white men are favoured with the intervention of familiar spirits, who interpret to them the meaning of their friends.

The tenets of their religion are nearly the same as those of the inhabitants of the Gold Coast, and are founded entirely on superstition and ignorance. If they revere their priests, their respect arises less from their esteem of the order, than of the opinion they entertain of the annexed dignity. Indeed, they are fully persuaded, that magic and necromancy are qualities and

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powers inseparable from majesty and the priesthood. The king of Saka, near Cape Laho, observes annually a certain mysterious ceremony in honour of the sea, which is the tutelary deity of the kingdom.

But whatever opinion may be formed, relative to the religion and manners of the natives of Quaqua, certain it is, that their extreme regard to trade, and the assiduity with which they cultivate commerce with foreign nations, are proofs of their abilities and understanding. On the arrival of an European ship, they flock round in their canoes, crying Quaqua ! Quaqua ! from which expression they derive their names, and one of the most adventurous among them goes on board. The anxiety of the rest then becomes extreme, and they move their heads and eyes as if impatient of knowing the fate of their companion, nor without the greatest difficulty can they be prevailed on to go on board. They generally, indeed, oblige the captain to put sea-water into his eyes, being firmly persuaded that should he violate this solemn engagement, the ocean will punish him with the loss of sight. On their side, they enter into no promises, and, therefore, Europeans are generally on their guard to prevent any fraud or sudden attack, and only admit a certain number of Quaquas at a time. One may easily apprehend the difficulty and tediousness of trading with a nation so timorous and mistrustful. The ignorance of their language, too, adds greatly to the inconvenience arising from the timidity of their dispositions, as every thing must be transacted by signs, and a certain quantity of merchandize is usually placed near the gold and ivory intended to be ex-

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changed. Presents, however, have considerable influence in inspiring them with confidence; and, in general, even the most opulent negro will receive with indications of gratitude any trifling article of European manufacture, as if he considered it as a pledge of esteem and respect.

The usual articles of commerce on this coast are cotton-cloths, ivory, gold-dust, and slaves. The negroes of the interior parts exhibit much skill and industry in manufacturing cotton-cloth, which is extremely fine and beautifully coloured. The whole country beyond Quaqua furnishes vast quantities of elephants' teeth, the finest ivory in the world. This, and the other productions of this part, being brought to the sea-coast, are purchased by the English, French, and Dutch, and sometimes also by the Danes and Portuguese; and the European commodities, which the negroes accept most willingly in exchange, are the same that are made use of in other kingdoms of Guinea.

Europeans have no regular establishments on this coast; but mariners very much frequent the mouth of St. Andrew, which is a spacious and deep river, augmented near its influx into the ocean by the junction of another stream. The entrance of this river is surrounded with lofty trees, verdant meadows, and fertile fields of immense extent. Nature seems to have intended this place for a fortress, which would require no other defence than its situation. It consists of a peninsula formed of a high and level rock, and inaccessible on almost every side. On sailing farther up the stream, the fields and meadows are watered by pleasant, meandering streams, that fertilize the ground, and render it produc-

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tive in every species of grain, fruits, and roots; but especially in maize, millet, rice, melons, and various kinds of pulse. The eye is also gratified with the sight of beautiful groves of citrons, oranges, and limes, the boughs of which are so closely interwoven, that the several fruits frequently appear to be the produce of the same tree. The sugar-cane, with innumerable fruits and flowers, springs up and flourishes in this soil; but they are in general abandoned to the devastation of wild beasts, to whom they afford an agreeable and commodious retreat.

The personal appearance of the natives of this part of the coast is nearly similar to that of the Quaquas, and the women possess the same regularity of features, sparkling eyes, and elegant teeth. The men are neither deficient in courage nor understanding; but the European merchants having carried off some of them, they have become equally timid and jealous with those already described; nor can any importunity prevail with them to enter a vessel, till the captain has made use of the ceremony of bathing his eyes in sea-water. This rite is reciprocally performed, and seems intended to denote, that if they violate their faith, or neglect to fulfil their compacts with honour, they wish the waves may for ever close their eyes, and deprive them of sight. They are extremely partial to the same ornaments as the Quaquas, particularly little bells, which they fasten round their arms and legs, and which produce a jingling that inspires them with gaiety, and gives agility to their dancing; a diversion the negroes in general are excessively fond of practising, and in which they arrive at such proficiency, that the

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best European figure-dancers might learn from them attitudes and postures, that would not disgrace their art.

The elephants in this country must be of an enormous size, as some of their teeth weigh upwards of two hundred pounds. Slaves and gold are also disposed of in great plenty; but Europeans are never able to learn in what manner the latter is procured by the maritime natives, who observe an inviolable secrecy on the subject.

There is a kingdom on this coast, named Guiomere, which in 1703 was governed by a queen called Assamouchon, who was greatly respected by her neighbours, and beloved by her subjects. This princess being of an active and warlike disposition, disliked the authority of a husband, and spent her whole time in the camp, and in commanding her armies. Such was the conduct and good fortune of this queen, that she was not unsuccessful in any enterprize, nor was the smallest advantage ever gained over her troops, either by negroes or Europeans. By means of a chevalier Damon, she entered into a treaty with the French, which continued, without the least infraction, during the greater part of her life. This princess was such an admirer of the lively and polite humour of the people of that nation, that she frequently declared she would rather be a subject of France, than sovereign of any other European state. The kingdom of Guiomere is of narrow limits towards the sea, but of considerable extent towards the inland parts of the country: it is also populous, and famous for its commerce.

Serpents thirty-six feet in length, which swallow men entire, are to be met with in this part

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of Africa. Here also are furious tempests, accompanied with dreadful storms of thunder and lightning, and prodigious falls of rain, which are succeeded by almost total darkness. When these tornadoes happen in the summer, they are less dangerous than in the winter season; but they are then more inconvenient, as they are followed for several successive days by cold rains, which are heavy beyond description. During the winter months, the ships in the road are in the utmost danger, and mariners have every thing to dread from the fury and impetuosity of these hurricanes; but nature has kindly provided for their security, by giving certain notice of the approach of the tempest. The Portuguese have given the appellation of *terreno* to a violent land-wind, which blows from the east about Christmas and Midsummer. The storm rises with such fury as immediately to suppress the sea-breezes, and frequently continues four or five days. During that period, the sun becomes totally obscured, the sky dark, and the air extremely cold and dense. The negroes are very sensible of this change in the atmosphere, and shiver as if the paroxysm of an ague had seized them. Even the brute creation can ill support the intense cold, which at that time prevails; and goats that had been exposed to the air only four hours, have been found dead.

SECTION V.

Grain Coast.

THE Grain Coast, which also receives the name of Malaguetta, derived its appellation from the copious production of pepper, that constitutes

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its real wealth, is contained between the river Sestos and the village of Greva, about a league to the west of Cape Palmas, and extends for a space of fifty-five miles along the shore. The largest and most populous town on this coast is called Great Sestro or Sestro Paris, the latter of which appellations it received from the merchants of Dieppe in France, who had a factory at this place. The houses are constructed in a square or circular form, raised four feet from the ground, and ascending by a flight of steps. The town also contains a council-chamber, in which the principal men of the place assemble, and debate on public affairs. Business is no sooner ended than the king and his subjects drink and smoke together without distinction; and the monarch lays aside the badges of royalty, and reduces himself to a private station. The continual exhalations, caused by the action of the sun on the rivers and sea-coast, are supposed to occasion malignant and putrid fevers, which are very prevalent in this part of Africa, and are peculiarly fatal to Europeans.

The plant, which produces the Guinea pepper, grows to the height of a shrub, and attaches itself to some neighbouring tree, in the manner of our ivy. The leaf is of a great length, soft and pointed, and, during the rainy season, possesses a pleasing odour; soon after which it fades, and loses both its beauty and flavour. If the buds are bruised between the fingers, they leave an agreeable flavour, like that of a clove. Beneath the leaves, and all along the stalk, are filaments, by which it adheres to its supporters; but the flower cannot be described, as it buds in those seasons when no commerce is carried on with

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the coast. The fruit, however, is in the form of figs, and of various sizes, according to the quality and cultivation of the soil; and is contained in long, slender, and red pods, separated into four or five cells, and covered by a thin rind, to which the negroes attribute a poisonous quality.

Besides this valuable article of commerce, the Grain Coast produces a species of fruit, very much resembling the cardamom, and pimento; the latter of which is exceedingly abundant and cheap. Ivory and slaves form also a part of the trade of this country. The other productions of this coast are bananas, dates, lemons, and oranges, with several sorts of pulse, and abundance of fine palm-trees. Domestic animals, such as cows, hogs, sheep, and goats, are also very plentiful, with most other creatures common to Guinea.

The natives of this part are guilty of no excess in eating or drinking, but appear temperate and abstemious on all occasions. They admit the Europeans to commit familiarities with their women; and even invite them to participate in the embraces of their wives and daughters. They possess one quality in common with all other negroes, which is a propensity for stealing, especially from strangers and foreigners. They are, however, obliging and civil, and will perform the most important services for a trifling reward. They are of a tall stature, robust, well-proportioned, and have a martial aspect; and their courage, as appears from their frequent incursions into the neighbouring territories, corresponds with their appearance. The sole employment of many of the negroes on this coast, is fishing; and every morning large fleets of canoes are seen

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ranged along the shore, on that business. Their dress consists only of a piece of cloth fastened round their waists.

The Malaguetta language is so extremely difficult and peculiar in its idiom, that none of their neighbours are capable of interpreting it, which renders commerce disagreeably tedious, and to be transmitted by signs. Some of the natives are excellent mechanics, especially the smiths, who perfectly understand the art of tempering steel and other metals, and are well acquainted with the mode of fabricating arms. Experience has also taught them many useful improvements in agriculture, particularly with respect to the cultivation of rice, millet, and pepper; the chief articles of their trade and subsistence. Their monarch, whom they call Tabaseil, exerts an arbitrary power over his subjects, and when he appears in public displays great pomp and magnificence: his people regard him as a superior being, and implicitly obey his injunctions from a natural awe and submission.

Their religion is paganism, but they have some confused and obscure ideas of the immortality of the soul, and of a future state of existence and retribution. They welcome the new moon with festal songs, and other demonstrations of regard, which are the only external marks of adoration among them. When an opulent person dies, his wives commence the most hideous lamentations, which give notice of the event to the whole neighbourhood; upon which all the other women of the place resort to the house, in order to mingle their howlings together. The favourite of the deceased always distinguishes herself above the rest by the loud-

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ness of her complaints, and whose expressions of sorrow are perhaps alone sincere. Suddenly a pause of silence interrupts this dismal noise, and by way of interlude, one of them recites the virtues and noble actions of the defunct; after which they resume their vociferations with redoubled vehemence. The *marabous*, or priests, having examined the corpse, and ascertained that the person is dead, dig a grave sufficiently large for containing two bodies, and the principal wife is interred with her deceased husband. During the latter part of this barbarous transaction, a profound silence reigns through the whole assembly; and as soon as it is concluded, they depart with the same tranquillity as if nothing extraordinary had happened.

The French were the first that carried on trade with this coast, and some traces of their residence still exist. Many of the inhabitants also have had French sirnames hereditary in their families for at least more than a century. They were also taught to assume the names of saints, such as Peter, Paul, John, and Andrew.—The Portuguese dispossessed the French of their commerce with this coast, and also with the rest of Guinea. During a number of years, they exercised a despotic authority over the natives; but the great advantages which the Portuguese derived from this trade, having excited the emulation of the English and Dutch, their power was obliged to give way to the more warlike and commercial spirit of these rivals. By degrees they became dispossessed of all their settlements, and being compelled to retire into the interior parts of the country, resolved, as a last effort, to unite themselves to the natives by marriage; from

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whence sprung that mixed progeny, who are known by the name of mulattoes. These carry on a great trade, and would render it more extensive, were they regularly supplied with European goods.

CHAPTER X.

Nigritia.

NIGRITIA, or Negroland, is an extensive tract of country denominated from the colour of its inhabitants, and included between the river Senegal and Guinea. It is divided into several large and populous kingdoms.

SECTION I.

Sierra Leona.

SIERRA LEONA was an appellation given to some mountains on the coast by the Portuguese, on account of the great numbers of lions that frequented them; from whence this tract of territory received its name. Its exact boundaries have never been properly defined, though it is generally understood to be comprehended between the Grain Coast and Cape Verga.

Scherbro is a large and capacious river, in which vessels of great burthen frequently proceed to a very considerable distance, and which is supposed to have its source in Upper Ethiopia. At the mouth of the river stands an island which has the same appellation, and produces great abundance of rice, maize, yams, bananas, pota-

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toes, Indian figs, ananas, citrons, oranges, watermelons, with a variety of other fruits and roots. Fine pearls are found in an oyster on the shore; but the fishing for them is rendered extremely dangerous by the number of crocodiles, alligators, and sharks, which infest the mouth of the river. The inhabitants are pagans, but practise the Jewish rite of circumcision. Cape Mesurado is a peninsula, which is seen at the distance of several leagues, and has the appearance of a high mountain. On the banks of a river of the same name, is a plain of great extent, covered with villages, and abounding with a great variety of quadrupeds, such as oxen, cows, sheep, hogs, deer, hares, antelopes, and many others, and is unquestionably one of the most fertile and beautiful spots in the universe. It produces pine-apples, citrons, lemons, oranges, with all the rich fruits of Europe, Asia, and America. The air is temperate, and the spring waters cool and refreshing; and, in short, the country in the neighbourhood of Cape Mesurado resembles a paradise.

The inhabitants are not unworthy of enjoying such a situation; for they are a mild, generous, friendly, assiduous, and disinterested people, and their labour is the result of reason, not of avarice. Their chief occupation consists in the cultivation of the land, and in the making of salt; in which last article they pay a certain tribute to the sovereign of Quaja, to whom they are subject. The miseries of war are but little known, and in all disputes they seem to prefer pacific conventions to the decisions of arms. Polygamy is allowed them without any limitations; and, as the females are equally laborious with the

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males, the interest of the husband is proportioned to the multiplicity of his wives. Children of both sexes go naked till the age of puberty, when those of distinction begin to wear a cotton cloth, which depends from the waist; but the common ranks remain during all their lives *in* their primitive state. None, besides the king, his court, and the officers of his household, go always clothed. Bracelets, and rings of iron or copper, are worn round the wrists and legs of the women, with small silver bells, which are esteemed very ornamental.

The most common dress among people of condition of both sexes, is the tomi, which is made of woollen cloth, and manufactured by themselves. Both males and females take great pains in decorating their hair, which has a woolly appearance, with little plates of gold and other metals; and this employment occupies all the time they can conveniently spare from their avocations and amusements. The women endeavour to attract attention by painting their faces, arms, and legs, with circles of various colours; the agreeable diversity of which is considered as the principal criterion of female taste and elegance. The ornaments of the men are also of the same kind, and differ only in the size of the rings and bracelets, which are fastened round their arms, legs, and fingers. The poorest negro has some of these decorations, and their number is increased with the wealth and vanity of the wearer, and constitutes a principal distinction of rank.

The accommodations of the natives are mean, but peculiarly neat and clean. The royal palace and houses of the great and opulent are constructed in oblong squares, having one story

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floored, and being so closely covered with the leaves of the palm, that they are rendered perfectly secure against the heaviest rains and the most scorching beams of the sun. Each of these buildings is divided into a number of apartments; one of which is a hall of audience, surrounded with sophas raised about a foot from the floor, and covered with elegant mats of palm-leaves, beautifully diversified with an infinity of colours; on which the more opulent of the people doze away life, reclining their sluggish heads on one of their favourite women, or eating, drinking, or smoaking, with their select companions. In their manner of eating they appear to be more civilized than most other negroes: they have plates and dishes made of ivory, and kept extremely neat and clean; and that their elegance may be uniform and consistent, their kitchens are separated from their habitations, lest they should be incommoded by the heat or smoke, which attends the preparation of victuals.

It is observable that the language of the negroes undergoes a gradual change, as we pass from east to west. Arts and sciences being entirely unknown among them, they make use of only a few words, which are sufficient for expressing the necessaries of life; and hence, perhaps, exists that silence which has been remarked in all their public assemblies and entertainments; their ideas being insufficient to enliven conversation, or to furnish matter for discourse. Travellers observe that the same sounds frequently occur in a short speech; and that their songs are only a repetition of five or six words. It is also no less difficult to obtain proper ideas of

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their religion, which would appear to be a mixture of Mahometanism, idolatry, and superstition. "Let the Europeans," say some of them, "adore a God, who is so good to them; for us, we offer presents to the devil alone, because he is able to injure us."

The government, which possesses mildness in the extreme, is strictly aristocratical; all public business being transacted by a majority of the grandees, and the king only assuming the executive part. The Europeans who trade hither, buy up large quantities of cotton-cloth, the manufacture of this country, fine mats, and ivory, which is not inferior to that purchased in Guinea; as well as the skins of lions, tigers, panthers, and various other wild beasts, with which the mountains abound. This coast also affords five or six hundred slaves annually; but they are generally such as are bought or obtained in exchange from the king of Mandingo, and the sovereigns in the interior parts of Africa; for the natives are prohibited from enslaving any, except criminals, who are sold to the traders in human flesh for the emolument of the monarch.

Between Cape Mesurado and Sestos, is a delightful river called Rio Junco, the banks of which are clothed with perpetual verdure, and exhibit beautiful groves of oranges, limes, and other fruit-trees. This part of the country, which is denominated the kingdom of Mesurado, is very populous, and the villages stand so near together, that they resemble one large town. Though the laws of proportion are disregarded in the erection of particular houses, their cities exhibit the greatest order and regularity, and are so analogous to one another, that they can-

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not be distinguished but by the surrounding country. The royal palace differs only in extent, and in the number of apartments, from the habitations of private persons. The manners of the natives are simple; and they are entirely ignorant of the arts of luxury and refinement. Their religion consists of the grossest idolatry, without any fixed principle of adoration. The most constant object of worship is the sun, to which luminary they sacrifice, and make offerings of palm-wine, oil, fruits, and various animals. Formerly, human victims were also slain, in honour of this deity; but that cruel practice has ceased, since commerce has demonstrated that their interest consists in the multiplicity of their slaves and prisoners, whom they dispose of to the Europeans.

North-west of Scherbro is the great river Sierra Leona, which is said to be near three leagues wide at its entrance, but a short way up the channel it is reduced to the breadth of a single mile. It abounds with fish, but is greatly infested with crocodiles and alligators. The banks are adorned with large and beautiful trees; and the river, in its course, forms several delightful islands, covered with palms, from which the natives make great quantities of wine.

The country to the south of this river is extremely mountainous, and is properly denominated Sierra Leona, or the *Mountains of the Lions*; while on the north it is low and flat, where the heat of the sun, before the noon-tide breeze springs up, is almost intolerable. In general, it is reckoned an unhealthy climate to Europeans; and the continual thunder and rain, with a suffo-

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eating air that prevails during four months in the year, produce the most fatal effects, especially on the constitutions of strangers; nor are they innocent with respect to the natives, who are obliged to confine themselves in their chambers for several days successively, in order to avoid the pestilential infection of the atmosphere. Sometimes, also, tornadoes produce awful and astonishing scenes; in which the sun is veiled in mid-day splendour, and the most tremendous and pitchy darkness succeeds in his place; and the face of nature seems wholly changed. But, however these scenes may affect the minds of strangers with terror and amazement, custom has rendered their appearance a matter of indifference to the natives, who contemplate the dreadful changes of nature without any particular emotion.

The soil is extremely fertile, and the whole country, on each side of the river, produces such quantities of rice and millet, as amply to supply the natives with food; besides which lemons, oranges, bananas, and citrons, are in great plenty and arrive at vast perfection. In the interior parts, and farther up the river, ananas, Indian figs, water-melons, white prunes, cassava, and different sorts of pulse, are also produced in great abundance. There are, likewise, fowls, hogs, hares, and deer, that may be obtained in barter for a little brandy, a liquor to which the inhabitants are extremely partial. The mountainous parts abound with elephants, lions, tigers, apes, and monkies; the last of which are exceedingly numerous, and one species of them, called the barry, walks erect, grinds its rice or millet, and, in short, possesses all the docile and

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imitative qualities of the famous ourang-outang. The woods abound with serpents of the most astonishing dimensions; and also afford a retreat to an infinite number of parrots, paroquets, and various other beautiful and curious birds, which are not caught without much difficulty, by reason of the thickness of the copses. In this part of the country grows a tree resembling a beech, which the negroes call agon, and with the fruit of which they poison their arrows, and render them mortal.

The natives bordering on the Sierra Leona have more protuberant noses, and less dark complexions, than most of the neighbouring negroes. They suspend a number of toys from their ears, and they mark their faces with hot irons. In the decorations of their persons, they imitate the nations on the banks of the Scherbro; but those of rank appear in public dressed in long flowing robes of striped calico, after the Moorish fashion. They are malicious, turbulent, and jealous in their dispositions, and always engaged in quarrels and dissensions among themselves, or with their European neighbours, who are continually exposed to their insults and depredations. On the other hand, from an aversion to gluttony and drunkenness, they are extremely sober and temperate in their meals, and free from voluptuous passions. Every town is provided with a public school, in which the young women are taught singing, dancing, and other accomplishments, under the inspection of a matron of noble birth.

For the adjustment of disputes, the chief persons of a village meet in a place called a palaver or hall, where the plaintiff and defendant being

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candidly heard, and the matter fully discussed, the equity of the case is determined by a majority of the judges. If a person has been defrauded by his neighbour, custom has rendered it lawful, that he may seize without legal process as much from the offender as will compensate his loss, but he must prove before the chiefs, to the satisfaction of the court, that he has not distrained for more than he was entitled to recover.

Their huts are generally of a circular form, with spacious areas in the middle, the entrances paved with oyster and cockle shells, and two or three crosses erected in different parts; the whole being surrounded with lime, pine-apple, and plantain trees.

We are informed that in the kingdom of Copez, the royal dignity was hereditary in the same family, and that the youngest son succeeded to the throne; but on a deficiency of male heirs, the nearest of kin was elected sovereign. When this happened to be the case, the nobility visited the elected monarch at his house, where having bound his hands, they carried him to the palace, amidst crowds of people, who derided, insulted, and even struck him with rods. This ceremony was intended to intimate to the king, that this was the last time he would ever witness the real inclinations of his subjects. The eldest counsellor then harangued the populace in favour of the new king, to whom he gave a hatchet, signifying thereby that it was the indispensable duty of a sovereign, to punish crimes which are injurious to the interests and welfare of society.

In the year 1787, a number of English gen-

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tlemen subscribed a few thousand pounds, as a fund for assisting some hundreds of negroes then in London, to settle at Sierra Leona, where a considerable district of land had been ceded by the native chiefs for that purpose. The grand object of this settlement was to promote civilization in Africa, and thereby prepare the way for the total abolition of slavery. Notwithstanding the difficulties with which this infant colony had to contend, it has since that time very considerably increased, has been incorporated by act of parliament under the name of the Sierra Leona Company, and the principal place of the settlement is denominated Freetown. They have endeavoured to diffuse the knowledge of Christianity among the natives, many of whose chiefs have been induced to send their sons to the colony for instruction. In short, by means of this settlement, the declension of the slave trade in the neighbourhood of Sierra Leona has been very great; and it is supposed that not more than one fifth of the usual number of slaves are now carried off the adjacent coast. For the honour of Great Britain, and the cause of humanity, we earnestly wish that this rising colony may produce the full and desired effect, and that the civilization of Africa, and the gradual abolition of slavery, may at last be the result of this benevolent establishment!

SECTION II.

Foulah, Monou, Quoja, and Folgia.

THE Foulah kingdom is situated to the north-east of Sierra Leona, and is about three hundred and fifty miles in length, from east to west,

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and about two hundred miles in breadth from north to south. The capital, which is called Teemboo, is supposed to contain about seven thousand inhabitants. The king exercises a very despotic power; and he punishes with great severity, especially in cases of disrespect shewn to his authority. About one-third of the country is extremely fertile. Laby, which contains not less than five thousand inhabitants, is a city that stands upwards of two hundred miles eastward from the mouth of the river Rionunes, and is governed by a chief who is subordinate to the king of Foulah. The people of this part of Africa are greatly superior to those on the coast, in every branch of civilization; and they have manufactures of iron, silver, leather, and narrow cloths. The principal men are furnished with books on the subject of law or divinity; and schools for the instruction of children are established in almost every town. The professed religion is Mahometanism, and there is a great number of mosques, but the people do not appear attached to bigotry and superstition.*

In the interior parts of the country, that lie between the rivers Sierra Leona and Sestos, are several populous and extensive kingdoms, of which we neither know the boundaries nor the name. The Quabes, who are reported to inhabit the southern bank of the Sestos, are said to live under the protection of the emperor of Monou; a very powerful monarch that extends his

* There appear to be in Africa several independent nations of Foulahs, of which this is perhaps the most ancient and considerable, and supposed to be the Leucæthiopes of Ptolemy. Vide Geographical Illustrations of Park's Travels by Major Rennell.

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authority over several vassal princes, particularly those of Quoja and Folgia, whose sovereigns are complimented with the title of Dandagh.

The natives of these countries are extremely libidinous; but in all other respects are greatly superior to many of their neighbours, being temperate and sociable, averse to the effusion of human blood, living amicably with one another, relieving the distressed, and participating in the pleasures and calamities of their friends with a cordiality which not only excites applause, but esteem.

Polygamy in this part of the world is not only tolerated but encouraged; yet the husband generally attaches himself to a particular female, who governs the rest of his wives, and superintends all domestic affairs. She is distinguished by the name of *makilma*, and to her devolves all the attention necessary in the education of the girls, while the father carefully provides for and instructs the male offspring. Five days after the birth of a son, some particular name is given it, on which occasion, the father and all his domestics, armed with bows and arrows, parade round the town or village, singing a sort of triumphant song, which is accompanied with musical instruments, those whom they meet in their way being expected to join in the concert. The superintendant of the ceremony then takes the infant out of the arms of the mother, and placing it on a shield in the midst of the assembly, puts a bow and arrow into its hands, and commences a long, premeditated oration, in which he first wishes that the child may enjoy prosperity, and afterwards enumerating the amiable qualities of

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industry, faithfulness, and hospitality, with almost every other virtue, expresses his hope that the infant may one day live in possession of them all. This oration being finished, he denominates the child, and delivering it into the arms of its mother, the assembly immediately disperses. A few select friends of the parents, however, frequently remain, who spend the remainder of the day in mirth and festivity. If the child be a female, the mother carries it into the middle of the town, where the concourse of people is greatest, and laying it on a mat puts a stick into the hands of the infant. A woman is then appointed to pronounce the oration, in which she prays that the child may possess all the accomplishments of its mother, and, like her, be endued with every ornamental and useful qualification.

The eldest son inherits the wives and property of his father; but the effects of a married man, who dies without male issue, pass to his nephews. The principal occupation of this people, is the cultivation of the earth; and trade, except in bartering one necessary of life for another, is scarcely known among them. The general language of these inland nations is the Quojan, which, however, is varied into different dialects in different provinces. The negroes of rank pride themselves on speaking with elegance and refinement; and being fond of rhetorical embellishments in their conversation, their discourse, even on the most trivial occasions, discovers something of poetical ornament and beauty. Nor are they entirely unacquainted with the sciences, particularly with astronomy: they can

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distinguish the hour of the night by the stars; and give the denomination of *monjating* to the pleiades.

Their funeral ceremonies exhibit marks of great affection, and of the strongest impressions of a gloomy superstition. After the body is washed and placed in an erect posture, they dress the deceased in his best clothes, adorn his hair, and put a bow and arrow into his hands: while his friends, in the mean time, engage in a kind of mock skirmish. They then fall on their knees, and bending their bows in a menacing manner, declare vengeance against those who have been accessary to his death, or that dare to asperse his reputation. After which they offer up, at the shrine of gross ignorance and cruel superstition, some of the slaves of the deceased, whom as the devoted victims on this occasion they have previously fed with all the delicacies of the country, and exhort them to attend their master in the other world with assiduity and fidelity. With the slaves they also deposit in the ground as much food and wine, as they think will be sufficient for the deceased, till their arrival in the land of spirits. The corpse is then carried on a bier to the grave, and placed beside the murdered victims, along with various kitchen utensils, which being covered with a mat, the whole is filled up with abundance of earth, in order to prevent any noxious exhalations from the putrid bodies. The relations generally build a hut over the grave, on the top of which is suspended the bow and arrows of the deceased, with other trophies; and they continue for several months to bring to the tomb all kinds of liquors and pro-

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visions, for his nourishment in the other world, till they suppose he has had time to cultivate his new plantations, and to form necessary connexions in the strange land to which he has removed. It is customary to deposit all the persons of one family in the same grave; and these cemeteries, which they call tombruoi, are generally in a deserted village. On the death of a near relation or intimate friend, they observe a fast that continues for ten days, during which period, they eat no rice, and drink only a small quantity of water.

Among the Quojas, if a woman is accused of adultery, and no other proof of her criminality be adduced than the allegations of her husband, she is declared innocent upon her own oath; but if, after she has taken the oath, evidences of her guilt shall appear, she is brought in the night to a public place, where a council is assembled to judge her, and to pass sentence accordingly. After invoking the *jannanins*, who are the spirits of their deceased relations, the woman's eyes are covered with a bandage, to prevent her from seeing those beings, who are ready to carry her off; and the criminal is induced to believe that such will be her destiny. When she has thus undergone for some time the most dreadful apprehensions and suspense respecting her fate, the oldest member of the council commences a solemn discourse, in which he represents the shamefulness and immorality of her conduct, and threatens her with severe punishment. If, after this harangue, she exhibit marks of contrition and repentance, a confused murmur is heard, which, it is pretended, are the voices of the jannanins, who declare that her

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crime, though meriting the most rigorous chastisement, will be pardoned, on account of its being the first offence. The same voices also impose on her certain mortifications and penances, and recommend that she live in such chastity, as not even to take a male child into her arms, or touch the dress of a man. The Quojas are persuaded, that fear and shame are punishments sufficiently adequate to the first offence; but if she relapse into libertinism, and the fact be proved, the *bellimo*, or high-priest, accompanied by the whole society of *belli*, or ministers, repair with a loud noise to the house of her husband, and seize the criminal, who, amidst the hootings and insults of the populace, is carried thrice round the town. She is then, without being allowed to defend herself by any evidence, or to avoid punishment by promises of repentance and reformation, conducted to a wood, which is consecrated to the *jannanins*, whose voices are no longer heard, and where she is put to death. In order that the power of the *jannanins* may continue to be dreaded by the women, it is undoubtedly necessary to remove them from the council, in which these spirits are supposed to be present. We may, therefore, reasonably conclude, that it is the male brotherhood alone of the belli, who compose that assembly.

When a person is accused of theft or murder, and there do not appear sufficient proofs of his guilt, he is commanded to be tried by *bellimo*, which is a composition of herbs and the bark of trees, and which he is obliged to hold in his hands for a certain time, when, if he have committed the action for which he is blamed, blisters

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will immediately appear on his skin. Sometimes the bellimo consists of a kind of liquor, composed of the bark of such trees as the negroes believe to be virulently poisonous, and a large glass of which the accused is compelled to drink. Those whose consciences are clear instantly reject the potion by vomit, and are deemed the more immaculate for this trial of their innocence; but if a froth appear at the mouth of the culprit, he is immediately pronounced guilty, and judged worthy of death. The criminal is then conducted to a secret grove, far removed from any human habitation, where his head is cut off, and his body divided into four parts.

The different nations in the interior of Sierra Leona acknowledge one Supreme Being, whom they call Canno, and to whom they attribute the qualities of omnipotence, omniscience, and omnipresence; but they are not agreed with respect to the eternity of his existence, some affirming that he will be succeeded by another, that will punish vice and reward virtue. They believe, likewise, that the dead are converted into *jannanins*, or spirits, whose employment consists in protecting their parents and former friends; for when the negroes are in any imminent danger, or have received any injury, they fly to the groves, which are the supposed residence of these guardian spirits, and bewailing their misfortunes, or the calamity that threatens them, beseech their gracious interposition. In all emergencies and difficulties, and in inquiries concerning future events, they have recourse to the same means. In a word, their veneration for the spirits of the deceased is extreme; and

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they never eat or drink, without first tasting in honour of the *jamanins*. Every village has a grove consecrated to the deceased, to which at certain seasons of the year great quantities of provisions are constantly brought, and into which women, children, and slaves, are prohibited from entering, whose intrusion would be considered as the most outrageous sacrilege, and punished with instant and exemplary death.

Nor are magicians and sorcerers less dreaded, than these imaginary spirits are revered and held in esteem. The former they believe to be the certain and inveterate enemies of the human race, whose blood they eagerly quaff. They are also persuaded that others have power over the seasons, and can forward or retard the productions of the earth. Death is the infallible punishment of those who are accused of possessing these qualities; and to live in a different manner from the rest of the people, is considered as a clear and sufficient evidence of their guilt. If a person dies under the suspicion of having suffered violence, the body is first washed, and the inquest into the occasion of his death commences by tying together shreds of the cloaths of the deceased, with locks of his hair. This bundle is sprinkled with powder of mammon or pulverized corn, and fastened to the bier, which is carried to the most public part of the town, and preceded by two priests, who strike their hatchets together, and interrogate the corpse at what time and in what manner he was deprived of life? These questions are answered by signs, which are invisible to all except those who sustain the sacerdotal office, and who fail not to interpret the responses in a manner suitable to

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their interest and designs. The criminal being denounced, they repair to his house, and drag him before the corpse, in order to condemn him on the accusation of the spirit. If he denies the charge, the bitter draught is instantly administered, which always determines his guilt or innocence.

It is customary among the natives of these kingdoms to observe a holiday on the approach of the new moon, when a relaxation from labour is permitted; and the reason they allege for this ceremony is, that if it were not observed, their rice would be converted into a red colour. A variety of other superstitious notions are promulged by a society that exists in every province called Belli, which is properly a seminary for the education of youth, the king himself being president. These schools may be classed among their libidinous incitements: the young men are taught, indeed, to hunt, to fish, and to handle arms; but they are also instructed in songs, which consist of a repetition of lewd expressions, and are accompanied with indecent and immodest gestures. When a negro has gone through the usual course in these institutions, and has become sufficiently learned in what has been taught him, he is considered as qualified for all employments, and is entitled to a number of important privileges; but those who have been found incapable of receiving instruction, are by an established law excluded from all public offices, and places of trust and profit.

These schools are situated in thick palm-tree groves, generally including a circuit of several miles, the whole of which space is cultivated for the support of the scholars, who are restricted

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within certain boundaries, and prohibited from having any intercourse with the world during the term of five years, which is the time appointed for their education. The students are matriculated with a red-hot iron, which cicatrizes them from the ear to the shoulder, and the scar is considered both as a badge of dignity and a mark of distinction. During their residence in this retreat, they go entirely naked, are fed by their tutors, and, though presents are frequently brought them by friends and relations, they are, nevertheless, denied the privilege of conversing with one another. On the day appointed for terminating their studies, they are conducted to a small town near the school, where they receive the visits and congratulations of their relations of both sexes; and having employed a few days in the necessary personal preparations, they are introduced at court, where their acquirements undergo a public examination. With respect to the *belli*, which has imparted its name to this institution, it is a composition prepared by the priest, who shews it to the people as something sacred. It has no certain figure; but the *bellimo*, or high-priest, gives it one at pleasure. Whatever, however, may be its form, they are obliged to shew it the utmost respect, and it is firmly believed by this ignorant and superstitious people, that the most dreadful and severe judgments will be inflicted on all those who shall be wanting in veneration to it. But the belli must derive his authority from the king, without which he can have no power of punishing; insomuch that superstition is dependent on civil policy, and the most unruly passion of the mind reduced to the standard of

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government. This is a political restriction very remarkable, and which has been invented by the king and the priesthood, to restrain the people within the bounds of their duty; and is intended to reduce all to the subjection of the monarch.

There is also a female institution similar to that of the boys, which is distinguished by the appellation of *Sandi-simodisine*, or the daughters of Sandi. After entering on their noviciate, they are conducted to a rivulet, where they are washed, anointed, and undergo an operation which may be termed excision, and are stripped naked during the whole of their abode in this seminary. Their studies consist in learning to dance, and in singing verses which are equally obscene, and accompanied by as immodest gestures, as those that are taught the males in their seminaries. They are denied the visits of men, and even females, who enter the limits of the institution, are always stripped naked. After the space of four months, which is the term of their noviciate, they are dressed in scarlet cloth, and the most costly ornaments, and ranging themselves in proper order, and preceded by the matron, they repair to the royal palace; the inhabitants of whole provinces assembling to behold them. They are then publicly examined by the king, with respect to their acquirements; after which they are presented to their parents with such marks of approbation, as are thought adequate to their proficiency.

The councils of these nations are composed of the oldest and most experienced persons; their government is mild; and the distribution of justice simple and equitable. To impress the inhabitants of the neighbouring kingdoms with a

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high opinion of their power, they prohibit all strangers from traversing their country. This regulation, which is strictly enforced, procures them the principal share of the commerce with the coasts, and they maintain agents and ambassadors at foreign courts, and conduct a formal system of trade and policy. When the king of Quoja is invested with the regal dignity by the sovereign of Folgia, he prostrates himself on the ground, and remains in that situation till the latter has sprinkled a handful of mould over his body, and interrogated him with respect to the title he wished to assume. This being made known, the appellation of the new monarch is proclaimed to the people by a herald, and re-echoed by the joyful and numerous assembly of his subjects. The king of Folgia then invests him with the sword of state, and with a bow and quiver of arrows; which are intended to denote the obligations he is under of defending the dominions with which he is intrusted.

SECTION III.

Mandingo, Foulah, Jaloff, and Feloop.

THE natives of the countries which border on the Gambia, though divided into a great many distinct governments, may, perhaps, be properly divided into four classes; the Mandingoes, the Foulahs, the Jaloffs, and the Feloops.

The Mandingoes are so denominated from their having originally migrated from the state of Manding: and they constitute the bulk of the inhabitants in the interior districts of Africa, where the natives are negroes. Contrary, however, to the constitution of their parent country,

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which is republican, the form of government in all the Mandingo nations, near the Gambia, is monarchical. But the power of the sovereign is by no means without controul: in all matters of importance, the king convenes an assembly of the principal men, or elders, by whose counsel he is directed, and without whose advice he can neither declare war, nor conclude peace.

The Mandingoes are said to be social, rational, and humane; entertaining strangers with great affability and condescension, and treating them with unreserved familiarity. In their dispositions they are convivial and facetious, and spend a great part of their time in music and dancing. Their natural warmth and impetuosity of temper, however, frequently occasion dissensions, and the friendship of the day is often dissolved by the discord of the evening. A single injurious expression will frequently be the cause of much bloodshed, and in no part of the world is the pride of birth and ancestry carried to a more extravagant height. It was a custom in this country, that a bargain which had been agreed on in the morning might be retracted by offering restitution before sun-set. This practice was the cause of numerous frauds and impositions; but the necessity of transacting business with fairness and openness, and of preserving some credit in their dealings with foreigners, has taught them the true application of the homely and well-known adage in favour of honesty.

The males salute one another by shaking hands; but when a man meets a woman, he closely and earnestly looks in her face, then recedes, and again advancing, repeats the same

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ceremony. The females alone are employed in the regulation of domestic œconomy; and the men cultivate rice, excepting which employment they usually spend their time in the greatest indolence and inattention to business. The more opulent have large retinues of slaves, whom they treat with exemplary humanity and kindness, and dress in a very splendid and expensive style. Most of these slaves are born in the families of their masters, to whom they become remarkably attached, and who are not permitted to sell them without their own consent, or the approbation of their partners in slavery.*

Having thus given a general character and description of the Mandingoes, we proceed to notice the other natives of this part of Africa. The Foulahs inhabit a tract of territory, which is divided from the kingdom of the Jaloffs by the lake Cayor, and next to the Mandingoes are, undoubtedly, the most considerable people. Their original country is said to be Foolador, which signifies the country of the Foulahs; but they possess at present many other kingdoms at a great distance from one another. Their complexion, however, is not exactly the same in different districts, and they are of a more tawny colour in the northern, than in the southern states. They are low in stature, but well made, and have naturally a delicate and engaging address: but the uncharitable maxims of the Ko-

* "I was told," says Mr. Park, "that the Mandingo master can neither deprive his slave of life, nor sell him to a stranger, without first calling a palaver on his conduct; or in other words, bringing him to a public trial; but this degree of protection is extended only to the native or domestic slaves." *Park's Travels.*

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ran have rendered them less hospitable to strangers, and more reserved in their behaviour, than the Mandingoes. Each nation is governed by a chief of its own, who rules with exemplary justice and moderation. Indeed, so pacific are the Foulahs in their dispositions, and so much do they discriminate the good and evil actions of men, that whoever violates the established maxims of jurisprudence is considered as a common enemy.

Their government differs from that of the Mandingoes, in their being under the immediate influence of the Mahometan law; for they are principally Mussulmen, and consequently the precepts and authority of the prophet are every where considered as sacred and decisive. In the exercise of their faith, however, they are not very intolerant towards such of their countrymen as retain their ancient superstitions. Religious persecution is never used among them for the propagation of the Mahometan faith; nor is it necessary that it should, since the system of the prophet is extended by means much more efficacious. By establishing small schools in the different towns and provinces, in which the children of parents of different persuasions are taught to read the Koran, and instructed in the tenets of Mahomet, the priests fix a bias on the minds, and form the character of their young disciples, which neither time nor accidents can alter or remove. These pupils appear to possess great docility, and conduct themselves with a proper and submissive deportment; and it is much to be wished that they had better instructors, and a more pure religion.

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Though far from being irascible in their dispositions, and infinitely superior to the meanness of illiberal reproach and personal invective; native courage is a quality not unknown among the Foulahs, and they appear to be very dexterous in the use of their military weapons, which consist of javelins, cutlasses, bows, and arrows, and, of late years, fire-arms. They are instructed in the Arabic tongue; and they have also a vulgar language, which abounds in liquids; but which is unpleasant in the pronunciation. They are esteemed excellent herdsmen, and the care of the Mandingoes' flocks is committed to them; the industry of this people, in the occupations of pasturage and agriculture, is every where remarkable. On the banks of the Gambia, most of the corn is raised by them; and their flocks and herds are more numerous and more valuable than those of the Mandingoes; but farther eastward, they are very opulent, and enjoy all the necessaries of life in the greatest profusion. They display an uncommon degree of skill in the management of their cattle, which they make extremely gentle by their kindness and familiarity. On the approach of night, the cows are collected from the woods, and secured in folds, called *korrees*, which are constructed in the neighbourhood of the different villages. In the middle of each *korree* is erected a small hut, in which some of the herdsmen keep watch during the night. The Foulahs use the milk of the cows chiefly as an article of diet; but they are totally unacquainted with the art of making cheese.

Nor are these people less eminent hunters than shepherds and husbandmen, destroying wild beasts in great abundance, particularly ele-

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phants, the teeth of which they sell, and smoke, dry, and eat the flesh. It is very common in this country for vast droves of this animal to herd together, and to destroy the blooming hopes of the year by trampling down the corn, and rooting up the trees. The natives, in order to prevent their committing these depredations, kindle large fires round the fields, when they expect the approach of the elephants, and which generally frighten them away. In short, the Foulahs are amiable in their manners, but their superstitious observations, to which they are extremely attached, tend greatly to diminish our respect for their good sense and discernment.

The Jaloffs are an active, warlike, and powerful people, that inhabit a great part of the north side of the river Gambia, as far as the Senegal, and have features extremely regular, compared with the surrounding nations. Their dress is a kind of calico surplice, which descends below the knees, and which is sometimes plaited in a neat and pleasing manner. They have also a number of gold trinkets in their hair, ears, noses, and round their necks, arms, and legs; but the women, as is customary in almost every other country, wear these decorations more than the men. The Jaloffs who inhabit the vicinity of the Senegal, are a generous and hospitable people, and always conduct themselves with propriety and decorum. The *damel*, or prince, of the territory bordering on that river, has two principal officers; the one, called *kondi*, presides over military affairs, and commands the armies; and the other, who has the appellation of *jarafo*, superintends the distribution of justice; but as there is a great number of damels in this exten-

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sive tract of country, it is probable that others may adopt internal regulations totally dissimilar.

The cavalry of the Jaloffs are armed with long darts and a kind of javelin, with short swords to use when they mount; and the infantry carry scymitars, javelins, and a quiver filled with poisonous arrows, which occasion inevitable death. They engage in an irregular and tumultuous manner, marching to the attack without order or discipline, and sounding all the time their warlike instruments, which make a hideous and terrific noise. As soon as they approach the enemy, the infantry make a general discharge of their arrows, after which they close with sword in hand, but with such precaution as to prefer interest to revenge, and they confine their chief attention to making as many prisoners as possible; and as the dread of slavery equally impels both the contending parties to great exertions, their battles are generally obstinate and bloody.

The Feloops are a barbarous and unsociable race of people, whose territory is of considerable extent, and abounds with rice, with which they supply the merchants on the Gambia and Cassamansa rivers at a very reasonable price. They also export great numbers of goats and poultry, and collect vast quantities of honey, of which they make a strong, intoxicating liquor like to mead, and the wax is sold to Europeans. They are said to be of a gloomy and melancholy disposition, and never to forgive an injury, but to transmit their quarrels as deadly feuds to their posterity; insomuch that a son, from a sense of filial obligation, considers him-

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self as under the necessity of avenging the wrongs of his deceased father. If a man by any act of violence loses his life, the eldest of his sons wears the sandals of his father *once a year*, on the anniversary of his death, till a fit opportunity present itself of revenging his fate, when the object of resentment seldom escapes unpunished. This cruel and unrelenting disposition is, however, counterbalanced by many excellent qualities: they display the utmost gratitude and affection towards their benefactors; and the fidelity with which they preserve whatever is committed to their care, is very remarkable and praise-worthy; and how much is it to be wished, that the minds of a people so determined and faithful, were softened and civilized by the mild and benevolent spirit of Christianity!

The kingdom of Woolli is bounded by Walli on the west, by the Gambia on the south, by the rivulet called Walli on the north-west, and by Bondon and the Simbani Wilderness on the east and north-east. The country every where rises into gentle acclivities, which are generally covered with extensive woods; and the towns are situated in the intermediate vallies. The soil is fertile, and the principal productions of the lower ground, are cottons and tobacco; while the higher parts of the country furnish great plenty and variety of corn. The inhabitants are Mandingoes, and, like most of that people, are divided into two sects; the Mahometans, denominated *Bushreens*, and the Pagans, who are called Kafirs, or unbelievers; but the latter are more numerous, and in them is vested the government of the country. On the death of the reigning sovereign, his eldest son, if he

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have attained the age of manhood, succeeds to the regal power and dignity; but if there be no son, or he be under years of discretion, an assembly of the principal men is convened, and the nearest relation of the late monarch is elected to the throne, not as guardian or agent, but in full power, and to the exclusion of all others.*

The kingdom of Bondon is bounded on the east by that of Bambouk; on the south by the Simbani Wilderness; on the west and south-west by Foota-Torra and Woolli; and on the north by Kajuaga. This country, like the last we described, is much covered with wood; but the land is more elevated, and in some parts rises into very considerable hills. In fertility, the soil is not surpassed by any in Africa. Koorkoorany, one of the towns of this kingdom, is situated in 13° 53′. The natives are Foulahs.

The kingdom of Kajuaga is bounded on the south-east and south by Bambouk; on the west by Bondon and Foota-Torra; and on the north by the river Senegal. The air and climate are more salubrious than towards the coast: the face of the country is interspersed with a pleasing variety of hills and vallies; and the windings of the Senegal river make the scenery on its banks very picturesque and beautiful. The inhabitants are called Scrawoollies; and their complexion is a jet black. The form of government is monarchical; and the people are anxious to support the dignity and authority of their king. They are a commercial nation, and formerly carried on a great trade with the French in gold

* Park's Travels.

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and slaves. They are very industrious, and derive considerable profits by the sale of cotton-cloth and salt in distant countries. Their language abounds much in gutturals, and is generally understood in the interior kingdoms.

The whole country of Kasson is extremely fertile and well-cultivated, and the population, together with the number of towns and villages, is pretty considerable. Sego, which is the capital of the kingdom of Bambarra, consists of four distinct towns; two on the northern, and two on the southern bank of the Niger. The inhabitants may be estimated at about thirty thousand. The king of Bambarra constantly resides in this city; and employs a number of slaves in conveying people over the river, and the fare paid by each individual furnishes a considerable revenue to the state. The canoes are formed of the trunks of two large trees, rendered concave, and united at the ends, which causes them to be very long and disproportionably narrow, and they have neither decks nor masts. They are, however, capacious, and the ferrymen are diligent and expeditious. The natives employ much of their time in collecting the fruit of the shea-trees, which grow in great abundance naturally in the woods, and are never cut down in clearing the land for cultivation. The tree greatly resembles the American oak, and the fruit has the appearance of a Spanish olive. The kernel, from which a species of butter is prepared by boiling it in water, is enveloped in a sweet pulp, under a thin green rind; and the butter produced from it, will keep the whole year without salt, and is whiter, and firmer, and of a richer flavour, than that made from the

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milk of cows. This commodity constitutes a great article of inland commerce.

On the northern bank of the Niger, at a short distance from Silla, is the kingdom of Masina, which is inhabited by Foulahs, who pay an annual tribute to the king of Bambarra. Jinbala, which is an island in the Niger, is remarkably fertile, and inhabited by negroes, whom the Moors have in vain attempted to subdue, owing to the creeks and swamps with which it abounds. Southward of Jinbala is a negro kingdom, called Gotto, to the monarch of which the king of Bambarra pays an annual tribute. On the west of Gotto is the kingdom of Bacdoo, tributary to the sovereign of Bambarra. West of Bacdoo is Maniana, the inhabitants of which are cruel and ferocious; they give no quarter to their enemies; and even indulge in horrid banquets of human flesh.*

The usual dress of the natives of this part of Africa is a kind of shirt, with wide drawers of blue and white cotton. On their feet they wear leather sandals, which are buttoned at the instep, heel, and toes; and their usual weapons of defence consist of a sword hung over the left shoulder, with a spear, or a bow and arrows; and they have also a knife hung at the left side. This is the general appearance of persons of consequence; but the less opulent go entirely naked. The women, however, in general, tie a piece of cotton-cloth round the waist, which depends to their knees, and have the upper parts of their bodies stained with different colours, and painted in various forms.

* Park's Travels.

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They subsist on grain, rice, roots, and fruits, the latter of which is the *tomberong*, a small and farinaceous berry, which is greatly esteemed by the Africans, and of which they make a sort of bread, that resembles gingerbread in colour and taste, and is generally used in the interior countries.* The common beverage of the Pagan negroes is beer or mead; but the Mahometan converts drink only water. The natives of all descriptions take snuff and smoke tobacco; but the greatest of all their luxuries is salt, which children frequently suck as if it were sugar; and to say that a man eats salt with his victuals, denotes that he is opulent. The marriage ceremonies practised in this country vary in almost every different nation and tribe; but they are in general very simple, and consist of purchasing the bride of her parents or friends.† The women enter early into the marriage-state, and polygamy, in its fullest latitude, is allowed to the Pagan natives; but the Mahometans are limited to four wives; and as the husband generally gives a great price for each, he exacts from them the utmost deference and submission, and treats them more like slaves than partners.

It is said that the pains of child-birth are very little known in this country, where the mother having washed the new-born infant, wraps it up

* This is the *rhamnus lotus* of Linnæus, and as it furnishes the natives with a food resembling bread, and also with a sweet and pleasant liquor, is certainly the lotus mentioned by Pliny, as being the food of the Libyan Lotophagi.

† According to Tacitus, nearly the same custom prevailed among the ancient Germans. *Dotem non uxor marito, sed uxori maritus affert. Intersunt parentes ac propinqui, ac munera probant.*

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in a cloth, and fastening it to her shoulder, pursues her avocations the same day, without suffering the smallest inconvenience. When the child is seven or eight days old, it receives an appellation; the ceremony of which commences by shaving the infant's head, and preparing a dish called *dega*, made of pounded corn and sour milk. The bushreen, or priest, then, after praying for a long time over the dega, during which every person present takes hold of the calabash that contains it with his right hand, repeatedly solicits the blessing of God on the child and all the company. This prayer being finished, he whispers something in the ear of the infant, and spitting thrice in its face, pronounces the name of the child, and returns it to its mother. The dega is then divided among the guests, and as it is thought to possess great medicinal virtues, a portion of it is sent to any person that happens to be dangerously sick. The children are treated with all imaginable tenderness till they are capable of providing for themselves; the boys being usually brought up in a course of habitual idleness, while the girls from their most tender years are devoted to labour, and have the necessity of a modest and respectful demeanour always inculcated.

When a person of distinction dies, the family and neighbours alarm the whole village with their doleful lamentations; and the priest washing the corpse, dresses it in white cotton. The relations then advance, and severally interrogate the deceased, Why he was unwilling to live with them? Whether he was dissatisfied with his narrow fortune? Or whether any of his friends had offended or injured him, that he thus cruel-

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ly deserts them? During this ceremony, vocal and instrumental music is heard, and the virtues and abilities of the deceased are highly commended. A ball is given to all the attendants, who figure a particular kind of dance in honour of their departed friend. The body is then covered with a mat, and deposited in the grave, with a jar of water and some victuals, and the bow and arrows of the deceased. The negroes have no particular spot of ground assigned as a burial place, and, therefore, the vault is frequently made in the hut of the defunct. If the situation requires it, a few prickly bushes are laid on the grave, to prevent the wolves from devouring the body.

On the death of a king, a certain time is fixed for the public mourning, which consists of a general howl over the grave, in which the violent contortions and unfelt lamentations of those who perhaps detested the object while living, are inconceivable. The more opulent of the people send presents of sheep, rice, and millet, from the remotest provinces, for the maintenance of the mourners, who remain for several successive days round the grave, where nothing but mirth and festivity prevail, except during the hours destined to grief and lamentation.

Their principal musical instruments are several sorts of harps, and the *tantang*, a drum which is open at the lower end, and as it may be heard at the distance of several miles, is made use of to alarm the people on the approach of an enemy, and on all extraordinary occasions. They have also small flutes, bow-strings, elephants' teeth, and bells, which they appropriate to music. In Nigritia there are two classes of singing men;

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those who recount the wealth, courage, and nobility of their patrons in extempore songs, and who are similar to the bards that existed in former times in different parts of Europe; and Mahometan devotees, who travel from place to place, and are employed in singing devout hymns or performing religious ceremonies, in order to avert calamity or insure the success of an undertaking, by procuring the favour and protection of the Almighty; both classes are highly respected and liberally rewarded by the people.

Between the Gambia and Senegal, and in all the interior parts of the country, with only a few exceptions, the Mandingo language is universally understood, and very generally spoken: it is a species of Arabic.

The labours of the field employ most of the negroes during the rainy season, and, during the rest of the year, they are occupied in fishing or hunting. The fish are caught in wicker baskets, or with small cotton nets. Those who are engaged in hunting are generally very dexterous marksmen, and with their arrows will hit a lizard, or any other small object, at an amazing distance; and they will also kill Guinea-fowls, partridges, and pigeons, but never on the wing. While the men are occupied in these pursuits, the women are very industrious in manufacturing cotton cloth. To prepare the cotton for spinning, they roll it in small quantities with a thick iron spindle. They spin with the distaff; and the thread is not fine, but well twisted, and makes a durable cloth. One woman with common industry will make as much thread annually as is sufficient for six or eight garments, which,

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according to their fineness, are sold for a minkalli and a half, or two minkalies each. The weaving is performed by the men, who have looms similar to those of Europe, but of a smaller construction, and so narrow that the web seldom exceeds four inches in breadth. The shuttle is made after the European manner; but the thread being coarser, the chamber is rather larger. The women dye it a rich and lasting blue colour, which is done by pounding indigo-leaves recently gathered in a wooden mortar, and mixing them with a strong lye of wood-ashes in an earthen jar, in which they steep the cloth till it has acquired a proper shade. The garments are sewed with needles of African manufacture.

The negroes do not consider the arts of weaving, dying, &c. as distinct professions; for almost every slave can weave, and every boy can sew. The manufacturers of leather and iron are the only persons who are considered as following a peculiar trade. Their method of dressing leather is expeditious; they steep the hide in a mixture of wood-ashes till the hair separates, and then make use of the pounded leaves of a tree called *goo* as an astringent; after which the hides are rendered soft by beating them on a stone. Of the hides of bullocks they generally make sandals; but the skins of sheep and goats are formed into coverings for quivers, sheaths for swords and knives, belts, pockets, and various ornaments. The leather is dyed a red or yellow colour.

The negroes of the coast are supplied by the European traders with iron: but in the interior parts, the natives carry on a considerable manu-

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facture of this metal; which, besides being formed into every necessary weapon or instrument for their own use, constitutes an article of commerce with the different states. The furnace in which the iron ore is smelted, is a circular tower of clay, about ten feet in height, and three in diameter, surrounded in two places with withes to prevent it from cracking and falling to pieces by the violence of the heat. Round the lower parts, on a level with the ground, (but not so low as the bottom of the furnace, which is rather concave,) are seven openings, into each of which are placed three tubes of clay, and these again plaistered up in such a manner, that no air can enter, except through the tubes, by the opening and shutting of which they regulate the fire. The iron-stone, which they break into small pieces, is heavy, of a reddish colour, and has a mixture of grey specks. Various instruments are formed of the iron, by means of a forge, which is urged by a pair of double bellows of very simple construction. The formation of knives and spears, and the workmanship in general, is tolerably well executed; but the iron is hard and brittle, and requires much labour. The blacksmiths of this part of Africa are acquainted with the method of smelting gold, in which process they use an alkaline salt, obtained from the lye of burnt corn-stalks. A variety of ornaments are executed in gold, with great taste and ingenuity; and they likewise draw that metal into wire.

In the kingdoms of Bambarra and Kaarta, they make baskets, hats, and different articles of use and decoration, from rushes beautifully stained and painted with various colours; and

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they cover their calabashes with interwoven cane dyed in a similar manner. In every profession which has been described, the master and slaves work together, without any distinction of superiority.

The habitations of the negroes in general have neither elegance, order, nor convenience: they are small, low, conical huts, and have no other light than what is admitted by the door, and occupied by relations and slaves, who repose promiscuously together. "A circular mud wall, about four feet in height," says Mr. Park, "upon which is placed a conical roof, composed of the bamboo cane, and thatched with grass, forms alike the palace of the king and the hovel of the slave. Their household furniture is equally simple; a hurdle of canes placed upon upright stakes, about two feet from the ground, upon which is spread a mat or bullock's hide, answers the purpose of a bed; and a water jar, some earthen pots for dressing their food, a few wooden bowls, or calabashes, and stools which serve as chairs, compose the rest. As every man in free condition has a plurality of wives, it is found necessary, to prevent matrimonial disputes, that each of the ladies should be accommodated with a hut to herself; and all the huts belonging to the same family, are surrounded by a fence, constructed of bamboo canes, formed into a kind of wicker-work, and the whole inclosure obtains the appellation of a sirk. A number of these, with narrow passages between them, which may be considered as spiral streets, constitute what is called a town; but the huts are generally placed without form or regularity, according to the caprice of the owner. The only rule that

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seems to be attended to, is placing the door towards the south-west, in order to admit the sea-breeze.

"In each town is a large stage called the *bentang*, which answers the purpose of a public hall, or town-house: it is composed of interwoven canes, and is generally sheltered from the sun by being erected in the shade of some large tree. It is here that all public affairs are transacted and trials conducted; and here the idle and the indolent meet to smoke their pipes, and to hear the news of the day. In most of the towns the Mahometans have also a *missura*, or mosque, in which they assemble and offer up their daily prayers, according to the rules of the Koran."*

The grain which is chiefly cultivated is Indian corn, which, together with rice, is raised in considerable quantities. The inhabitants also, in the vicinity of towns or villages, have gardens which produce onions, calvances, yams, cassavi, ground-nuts, pompions, gourds, water-melons, and other esculent plants. The sugar cane, the coffee, and the cocoa tree, are supposed to be unknown to the natives of this part of Africa. The pineapples and other delicious fruits generally found in tropical climates, are not to be met with in the interior countries of this continent. A few orange and banana trees, indeed, grow near the mouth of the Gambia, but it is thought that they have been introduced and planted by the Portuguese.

Near the towns, likewise, they cultivate cotton and indigo; the former supplying the natives

* Park's Travels.

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with clothing, and the latter affording an excellent colour for dying.

The corn is prepared for food by bruising the seed in a large wooden mortar, called a *fraloon*, till it be separated from the husk, when it is exposed to the wind, in nearly the same manner as wheat is cleared from the chaff in England. The grain is then replaced in the mortar, and made into meal, which is dressed variously in different nations, but the most common preparation is by forming it into a kind of pudding, called *kouskous*.

The domestic animals of this part of Africa are nearly the same as those in Europe. Swine are frequently to be met with in the woods, but their flesh is not esteemed: it is probable that the abhorrence in which this animal is held by the Mahometans, has been diffused among the Pagans. Poultry of all kinds, the turkey only excepted, are very plentiful. In the fields, the guinea-fowl and red partridge abound; and the woods furnish a small species of antelope, the flesh of which is highly and deservedly esteemed. Of the other wild animals, the most common are the hyæna, the panther, and the elephant. The usual beast of burthen in Nigritia is the ass. The application of animal labour to the purposes of agriculture, is no where adopted; the plough, therefore, is wholly unknown. The chief instrument made use of in tillage is the hoe, which varies in form in different districts; and the labour is universally performed by slaves.

In monarchical governments, the uncultivated lands are considered as the property of the king; in those of a republican form they belong to the state. When a person of free con-

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dition has the means of cultivating a greater quantity of ground than he is possessed of, he applies to the chief man of the district, who allows him an extension of territory, which being improved by cultivation, becomes vested in the possessor and his descendants. The population is in general very disproportioned to the fertility of the soil and the facility with which lands are acquired; but the interior countries are much more populous than those on the sea-coast. It is supposed, that, in this part of Africa, the slaves are in the proportion of three to one to the freemen. They receive no reward for their services, except food and clothing; and they are treated with rigour or mildness, according to the dispositions of their masters; but in a few points, custom has established certain rules for the treatment of these unfortunate beings, to violate which would be esteemed disgraceful. The slaves in Africa are, *first*, those that are born of enslaved mothers; and, *secondly*, those that were born free, but by some means have been reduced to slavery. Those of the first description are by far the most numerous. The latter are usually such as have been reduced to that wretched state by *captivity*, *famine*, *insolvency*, or *crimes*.

By the customs of this country, prisoners of war become the slaves of the conquerors: when the weak or unsuccessful warrior begs for mercy, beneath the uplifted spear of his antagonist, he resigns at the same time his claim to liberty, and with his freedom purchases his life. The second cause of slavery is *famine*. When the poor negro is almost fainting with hunger, he may well say with Esau, "Behold I am at the point to die, and what profit shall this birth-right do me?"

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Many freemen have been known voluntarily to surrender their liberty that they might preserve their lives; and parents frequently sell one of their children, to buy food for the rest of the family. The third cause of slavery is *insolvency*. It often happens, that a negro merchant contracts debts on some mercantile speculation, which he promises to pay at some future period; but should he prove unsuccessful in trade, his person and services are at the disposal of another; for in Africa the law requires, that not only the effects of the insolvent, but the insolvent himself, shall be sold to discharge the just demands of his creditors. The fourth and last cause which we have enumerated, is the commission of *crimes*, on which the laws of the country affix slavery as a punishment. These are murder, adultery, and witchcraft; by the last of which is meant pretended magic, or the administering of poison.

Mahometanism, blended with the grossest superstitions, generally prevails among the natives of this part of Nigritia; and the principal articles of their belief consist in acknowledging the unity of the Godhead, the observance of the fast of Ramadan, the feast of Biram, with circumcision, and some other external rites. They believe in the mission of Mohammed, but never invoke the prophet by prayers. They divide the year into *dry* and *rainy* seasons, subdivide it into *moons*, and reckon the days by *suns*. When interrogated whether the present or another sun would appear in the heavens the succeeding day, they considered the question as frivolous and absurd, and beyond the reach of human investigation. They have names for all the days, and ob-

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serve Friday as their Sabbath, though their ordinary employment is never interrupted, and the same routine of business continues. In every village there is a marabut, who convenes the people to perform their devotions, and pronounces absolution from the Koran, while the congregation, ranging themselves behind him in order to imitate his gestures and grimaces, have their faces towards the east.

They observe the fast of Ramadan with great strictness and decorum. In the evening, the Mahometan women say public prayers at the misura; they are dressed in white, and perform the different prostrations of their religion with due solemnity. During the whole fast the meekness and humility with which the negroes conduct themselves, reflect the highest honour. Towards the end of the Ramadan, the people assemble at the misura, to observe the new moon, which is welcomed by the beating of drums, firing of muskets, and other demonstrations of joy.

Circumcision is performed at the age of four or five years, or at a more advanced period, when they collect together vast multitudes of children, and a grand festival is held proportioned to the number and quality of those who are to undergo the operation. The Pagan natives consider this less as a religious ceremony, than as a useful and necessary performance, which, according to their opinion, tends to render the marriage-state prolific. For two months after the operation, the young people are exempted from all labour, and form a society called *Solimana*.

The Pagan natives consider the Supreme Being as the creator and preserver of all things, but

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of too exalted a nature to attend to the feeble supplications of wretched mortals; and believe that he commits the affairs of this world to the care and guidance of subordinate spirits, whom they suppose to be influenced by various magical ceremonies. A white fowl suspended to the branch of a particular tree, a snake's head, or a few handfuls of fruit, are offerings frequently presented to appease the wrath, or procure the favour of these inferior deities. It is only with reluctance that they will converse on religious subjects; and if interrogated concerning their ideas of a future state, they express themselves with great reverence and hesitation, and endeavour to terminate the discourse, by observing that no man knows any thing about it. They are content, they say, to obey and imitate the precepts and examples of their forefathers, through the various vicissitudes of the present life; and when this world and its enjoyments become insipid and of no value, they look forward with anxiety to the fruition of a future and more perfect state of happiness; but respecting which they indulge no idle and vain conjectures.

The moon, from the variations of its form, has greatly attracted the notice and attention of this people. They believe that this luminary has been newly created; and, on its first appearance, Mahometans, as well as Pagans, offer up a short prayer to the Deity, each person holding his hands before his face. The substance of this petition is to return thanks to God for his kindness during the past moon, and to solicit a continuance of his favour during the new one. When ended, they spit on their hands, which they rub over their faces. The negroes pay considerable attention

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to the changes of the moon, and think it very unpropitious to commence a journey or any important undertaking in the last quarter. They imagine an eclipse to be produced by witchcraft, and suppose that astronomy is studied only for magical purposes.

Respecting geography, they think that the world is an extensive plain, the boundaries of which are involved in clouds and darkness. They describe the sea as a river of salt water, on the farther shore of which is a country called the land of the *white* people; and at some distance from this is the territory where the slaves are sold, inhabited by cannibals of a gigantic stature. Of all countries in the world, they esteem their own as the best; of all people, themselves as the happiest; and they commiserate the fate of other nations, who are destined to inhabit less fortunate and friendly regions.

The most remarkable superstitions to which this people are addicted, are the *gris-gris*, or *saphies*, which are amulets or charms constantly worn by the negroes, who have the greatest confidence in their power and efficacy. These saphies are sentences from the Koran, which the Mahometan priests write on scraps of paper, and sell them, like popish indulgences, to the natives, who believe them to be endued with very extraordinary virtues. Some of them, when inclosed in a snake's or alligator's skin, and tied round the ancle, are worn as defences against the bites of those creatures. By others they are employed to protect their persons against hostile weapons; but the most frequent use to which these charms are applied, is to prevent or cure diseases; to preserve from hunger or thirst; and

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to conciliate the favour of superior powers. "Notwithstanding," says Mr. Park, "that the majority of the negroes are Pagans, and entirely reject the doctrines of Mahomet, I did not meet with a man, whether Bushreen or Kafir, who was not fully persuaded of the powerful efficacy of these amulets." The marabuts are, perhaps, as much revered as any religious order of men on earth.

To these charms and necromantic arts, they add another bug-bear, which is called *Mumbo Jumbo*, and is intended by the negroes to keep their wives in proper subordination, and, therefore, becomes the universal dread of the women. This is a most terrific image about eight or ten feet in height, composed of the bark of trees, clothed in a long robe, crowned with a diadem of straw, and hung up at the entrance of every town. Polygamy being universally allowed, the wives frequently quarrel, where there are often so many points of precedency to be adjusted. Corporal chastisement is one mode of settling the dispute; but if the lady think herself unjustly punished, and the husband can no longer preserve the peace of his family, the interposition of Mumbo Jumbo becomes necessary, and is always decisive.

This strange minister of justice, who is supposed to be either the husband himself, or some person instructed by him, disguised in the dress which has been mentioned, and armed with the rod of public authority, announces his approach by loud and dismal screams in the neighbouring woods. The pantomime is commenced towards night, and as soon as it is dark, Mumbo Jumbo enters the town, and proceeds to

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the bentang, whither all the inhabitants immediately assemble. This exhibition is very much disliked by the women, who, on hearing of the intended visit, if they durst, would instantly run away, and hide themselves; for, as the person in disguise is unknown to them, every married female suspects that he comes on her account. They all appear, however, when summoned; and the ceremony commences with songs and dances, which continue till midnight, when Mumbo fixes on the offender. The victim being immediately seized, is stripped naked, fastened to a post, and is scourged with the rod of this minister of justice, amidst the acclamations and derision of the assembly; and it is very remarkable, that the rest of the women are loudest in their acclamations against their unhappy and offending sister. This indecent and unmanly revel is continued till day.

A regular society has from time immemorial been preserved, for supporting and enforcing the power and authority of Mumbo Jumbo; into the mysteries of which no person is initiated, without first taking a solemn oath, that he will never disclose any part of the business. One of the kings of Jagro, however, being a weak and uxorious prince, is said to have communicated the whole secret to his wife, who, with the indiscretion of her sex, and contrary to the most solemn stipulations, revealed it to the rest of the women. The report of this event soon reached the negro chiefs, who were before adverse to the monarch; and now dreading the decline of their authority, and the perpetual state of rebellion and infidelity which would inevitably ensue, if the mystery should be fully developed, they determined on a

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bold undertaking, which they executed with great resolution. Assuming the authoritative air of persons, who perform a religious office, they commanded the king to appear at the bentang before Mumbo Jumbo. The prince not daring to disobey the summons, was ordered to produce all his wives, who no sooner made their appearance, than they were assassinated, and thus was the discovery effectually suppressed.

The marabuts are a distinct order of men from the rest of the people, though on common occasions their dress differs little from that of the laity. In their private œconomy and the general conduct of life, they differ from all others, and exhibit the most refined hypocrisy and cunning. Their dignity descends to all their male offspring, forming a numerous ecclesiastical body, for the maintenance and support of whom vast revenues, and even whole provinces, are appropriated. Their manners are represented as grave, formal, affected, and intriguing; but in other respects they deserve the greatest praise, being temperate and abstemious, charitable to those of their own order, and faithful in the performance of their compacts. Charity is a virtue, which, though never violated among themselves, does not extend to that universal benevolence, which can alone render it really valuable and useful. If any one of their society has offended against the laws of his country, they do not suffer him to be sent into slavery, but punish him conformably to their own institutions. They employ a great portion of their time in the tuition of their children, whom they carefully instruct in the principles of the Levitical law; which, next to the doc-

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trines of the Koran, is held in the greatest respect and esteem.

Their children are taught to write on a book, formed of a smooth, hard wood; and they read certain characters resembling Arabic. The great volume of the marabut institutions is composed in a language entirely different from that of the vulgar, and is said by some authors to be a corrupt Hebrew or Arabic. From this book they take transcripts for private use, and some of them travel from province to province, instructing the children of the natives in religious and scientific knowledge. At these seminaries, the girls are taught during the day, but the boys, who are considered, while pupils, as the domestic slaves of the master, and employed by him in various avocations, receive their instruction in the morpings and evenings. The tutors encourage emulation, in order to stimulate their scholars to great exertions. When the pupil has learned the Koran, together with a certain number of public prayers, he is examined by the bushreens, or mussulmen, who, being satisfied with his abilities and improvement, request him to read the last page of the book. This being accordingly done, the boy presses the Koran against his forehead, and pronounces the word *amen*; upon which they rise, and bestow on him the title of bushreen. The parents then redeem their son, by giving the teacher the value of a slave; but if they cannot afford it, the boy continues the property of the master, till he ransoms himself by his own industry.

Every town is open to the marabuts, and they travel unmolested through the fields of war, and during the rage of the most sanguinary contest.

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Such is the veneration with which this people are universally regarded, that persons of the first distinction, on meeting a marabut, immediately fall on their knees, and crave his benediction.

The Mandingoes seldom attain extreme old age; many become grey-haired and wrinkled at forty; and few live longer than fifty-five or sixty. But, notwithstanding that longevity is unfrequent among the negroes, they are not subject to many diseases. Simple diet and active life preserve them from the disorders which are produced by luxury and idleness. Fevers and fluxes are most common and most fatal; for the cure of which they generally apply saphies to different parts of the body, and perform various superstitious ceremonies, many of which are calculated to inspire hope, and prevent despondency, in the patient. Sometimes, however, they follow a different method: on the first attack of a fever, when the sick person complains of cold, they spread branches of the *nauclea orientalis* on hot embers of wood, and lay the patient upon them, wrapped up in a large cotton cloth. Water is then sprinkled over the branches, which, descending to the heat, raises a cloud of vapour; in which the diseased person remains involved, till the embers are nearly extinguished; and this practice, by causing a profuse perspiration, generally affords him great relief. The bark of different trees reduced to powder, and mixed with the food of the patient, is used for curing the dysentery; but this prescription is commonly unsuccessful. The negroes are also subject to the *yaws*, the *elephantiasis*, and a horrid species of *leprosy*. This last disease is said to be incurable, and sometimes destroys the hands and feet.

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The negro women suckle their own children, till they are able to walk. They attend not only to the growth, security, and vigour of their persons, but, as far as their own confined ideas permit, to the improvement of their minds, and, like the ancient Persians, one of their first lessons is—to speak truth. Maternal affection, which is neither suppressed by the restraints, nor diverted by the solicitudes of civilized life, operates in this country with great force, and fails not to produce proportionate filial duty and tenderness in the child. "To a woman," says Mr. Park, "I never addressed myself, in the language of decency and friendship, without receiving a decent and friendly answer. If I was hungry, or thirsty, wet, or sick, they did not hesitate, like the men, to perform a generous action. In so free and so kind a manner did they contribute to my relief, that, if I was dry, I drank the sweetest draught, and if hungry, I ate the coarsest morsel with a double relish."

As the negroes have no written language of their own, the general rule of decision is an appeal to *ancient custom*; but since the system of Mahomet has made so great progress in this part of Africa, the converts to that faith have gradually introduced, with the religious tenets, many of the civil institutions of the prophet; and where the Koran is found not sufficiently explicit, they have recourse to a commentary called *Al Sharra*, which contains a complete exposition or digest of the Mahometan laws, both civil and criminal. This frequency of appeal to written documents, with which the Pagan natives are necessarily unacquainted, has been the occasion of their using in their palavers, pro-

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fessional advocates, or expounders of the law, who are allowed to appear and plead for the plaintiff or defendant, much in the same manner as in the courts of Great Britain; and who, in the forensic qualifications of procrastination and cavil, and in the arts of confounding and perplexing a cause, are not always surpassed by the ablest lawyers in Europe.

The river Gambia, which next claims our attention, discharges itself into the ocean between Cape Verd and Cape Roxo, and whose source till very lately was unknown, and supposed to be a branch of the Senegal. It is now, however, ascertained to be a distinct river, to have its rise among the mountains about the ninth degree of west longitude, and to run to the west-north-west. Though the Gambia, near its influx into the ocean, is divided by a great number of islands and sand-banks, the broadest part of its channel does not exceed three leagues. For fifty leagues up the country, however, it is navigable for a ship of three or four hundred tons burthen: and at Barraconda, which is five hundred miles from the sea, it will admit vessels of considerable size. The proper time for sailing up this river is from December to June, during which period it flows in a smooth and placid course; but all the rest of the year, the Gambia can be navigated only with much difficulty, on account of its prodigious swell, which is occasioned by the violent rains that fall in this country. At the entrance into this river from the ocean numbers of sharks are found; and, farther up, it abounds with alligators; where is also the hippopotamus, or river-horse, which might not improperly be termed the river-ele-

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phant, on account of its enormous and unwieldy bulk, and the ivory furnished by its teeth. This animal is amphibious, has short thick legs and cloven hoofs, and feeds on grass and such shrubs as are near the water, in which it seeks refuge on hearing the approach of man. The Gambia is of a muddy colour; the banks are covered with impenetrable thickets of mangrove, and the whole of the adjoining country is flat and swampy.

The Portuguese, who are supposed to have been the original discoverers of this coast, eager to seize on every situation which seemed favourable for the advancement of trade, established several factories along the coast, and on the banks of the Gambia, as high as the Europeans generally resort. This is demonstrable from the ruins of many forts, still visible in different places, and which were constructed long before any other European nation attempted the navigation to India. The Portuguese, however, at length, abandoned their settlements in this country for more advantageous prospects, and were succeeded by the English, who fortified themselves on a small island, situated four leagues from the mouth of the river Gambia. Here they erected a fort, which was twice taken, plundered, and levelled to the ground; first by the French, and afterwards by pirates; and would probably never have been recovered, without the interference and assistance of the British legislature.

The next establishment of the English was on the Cabata, which falls into the Gambia almost opposite to James's Island, and on the south of that river. Here the trade was inconsiderable,

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the chief purpose of the factory being to furnish James's fort with provisions. James's Island, where the English had formerly a small fort, is about three quarters of a mile in circumference, and pays a small tribute to the king of Barra, the sovereign of the country. Farther up the river are several other establishments of inferior consequence, and which have communication with one another. As none of these factories are sufficiently considerable for meriting a particular description, we shall enumerate the various articles of commerce between Europe and this country, by the river Gambia. Premising only that the trade being laid open, after the period of which we have been treating, became almost annihilated: the share of commerce of which the English at this time partake, supports not more than two or three annual ships; and the gross value of British exports does not amount to twenty thousand pounds a year. The French and Danes still maintain a small share; and the Americans have lately sent a few vessels by way of experiment.

The commodities exported to the Gambia from Europe consist of fire-arms, ammunition, iron-ware, spirituous liquors, tobacco, cotton caps, a small quantity of broad cloth, and a few articles of the manufacture of Manchester; India goods, glass beads, amber, and other trifles. For which are received in exchange gold-dust, ivory, bees-wax, hides, and slaves; the last of which form the principal article, though the whole number annually exported at this time by all nations, is supposed to be less than one thousand. They are brought to the coast in periodical caravans, many of them from very remote

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inland countries. In thus bartering one commodity for another, many inconveniences must necessarily have arisen from the want of coined money, or some other visible and determinate medium, by which to establish the difference of value between different articles; to remedy which, the natives of the interior, as well as some other parts of Africa, make use of small shells called *cowries*. The inhabitants on the coast have adopted a practice, which is, perhaps, peculiar to themselves; a certain quantity of goods of whatever denomination, appearing to be equal in value to a bar of iron, constitutes, in the phraseology of the tradesman, a bar of that particular merchandize. But as it must unavoidably happen, that, according to the plenty or scarcity of goods, in proportion to the demand, the relative value would be subject to continual fluctuation, it has been found necessary to act with greater precision; and, accordingly, the current estimation of a bar is established at two shillings sterling.

The greater part of the ivory which is sold on the Gambia, is brought from the interior country. The negroes express the utmost surprise at the eagerness of the Europeans in procuring elephants' teeth, as they cannot comprehend their use. Nor will they believe, they say, that such long voyages would be undertaken merely to furnish handles of knives, combs, and toys, when wood would equally answer the purpose. When a herd of elephants is discovered, the hunters follow them till they perceive that some one has strayed from the rest into a situation where he can be fired at with effect: they then cautiously approach the animal till they

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are sufficiently near, when they discharge their pieces, and throw themselves on their faces among the grass. The elephant feeling himself wounded, endeavours to extract the balls with his trunk, but finding his attempts ineffectual, becomes furious, and runs about among the bushes till he is exhausted by fatigue and loss of blood, when the hunters again fire their guns, and kill him.

Gold is found in considerable quantities in the territories of Manding and Jallonkadoo. That of Manding is in small grains, nearly in a pure state, among masses of sand or clay. As soon as the harvest is finished, and the waters have subsided, a day is appointed to commence the washing of gold, on the morning of which a bullock is killed, and prayers and charms are repeated for ensuring success. If they be unfortunate at the beginning, it is considered as an evil omen, and very few have resolution to persevere in the work till the termination of the season. The most profitable mode of washing is effected by digging a deep pit near some hill that contains gold. The metal is washed by the women, and the operation is simple. A portion of sand or clay, together with a certain quantity of water, is put into a calabash, to which a rotatory motion is given, till part of the contents fly over the brim at every evolution. The sand which is thus separated, is allowed to subside, and the operation is repeated with fresh water till it comes off almost pure. The woman then shakes the contents into another calabash, except the portion which is nearest the bottom, and which most probably contains the precious metal. After this is again washed as before, she carefully examines

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it, and picks out the pieces of gold. "It is evident," says Mr. Park, "that the country contains a considerable portion of this precious metal, for many of the smaller particles must necessarily escape the observation of the naked eye; and, as the natives generally search the sands of streams at a great distance from the hills, and consequently far removed from the mines where the gold was originally produced, the labourers were sometimes but ill-rewarded for their trouble."

The island of Goree, which is the great emporium of the trade of this country, is the only European settlement between the rivers Senegal and Gambia. It is situated within cannon-shot of Cape Verd, received its present appellation from the Dutch, who were its first possessors, and extends in circumference about two English miles. Notwithstanding its confined limits, the situation is agreeable and pleasant, and the air temperate, though placed in the torrid zone, owing to its being continually refreshed by alternate breezes from the land and sea. Its importance, however, arises entirely from its vicinity to Cape Verd, and the consequent convenience of trade, which has rendered it an object of contention between several European nations.

Surrounded nearly on all sides by rocks, it is accessible only at two particular bays; and strong fortifications having been erected wherever they were deemed necessary, it has been considered by some persons as sufficiently impregnable to entitle it to the appellation of the African Gibraltar. The soil was originally composed of a red sand, on which grew nothing except reeds; but, by the indefatigable industry of

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its possessors, all kinds of vegetables have been raised in great abundance; gardens have been planted with excellent fruit trees; and from a barren and despicable island, it has been converted into one of the most pleasant and fertile settlements in Africa.

Goree was ceded to the Dutch, in the year 1617, by Biram, king of Cape Verd; when they immediately erected a fort on a rock to the north-west, to which they gave the name of Fort Nassau; but finding that it did not sufficiently command the harbour, they raised another fortification rather nearer the shore, and denominated it Orange Fort. From this settlement the Dutch were expelled, in 1663, by Admiral Holmes, who garrisoned it with English troops; but two years afterwards, Goree was retaken by De Ruyter, and became the property of its former masters. It remained in their possession without interruption till 1677, when a French squadron commanded by the count d'Estres attacked the island, and compelled the Dutch garrison to surrender at discretion. The French, now sensible of the consequence and value of their acquisition, immediately began to fortify it in the strongest manner possible; and, though the Dutch made several attempts to recover this important settlement, their efforts proved vain and ineffectual. In the year 1759, when the British arms were triumphant in every quarter of the globe, a squadron commanded by commodore, afterwards lord Keppel, reduced this island under the English government. It was, however, restored to the French by the treaty of peace signed at Paris in 1763. It was again taken by

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the English during the American war; but ceded to France in 1783.

The river Senegal is one of the most considerable in Africa, and has its rise near the source of the Gambia, about the seventh degree of west longitude, and runs to the north-west. Within two leagues of the sea, it turns suddenly to the south, and during the remainder of its course is divided from the ocean only by a natural bank of sand. By this curve it runs twenty-five leagues from north to south, and at length discharges its waters into the sea, in fifteen degrees and fifty minutes of northern latitude. It separates the country of the negroes from Zaara, or the Desert, which is inhabited by Moors. All the principal rivers of Nigritia have an annual inundation similar to that of the Nile, and usually about the same season of the year. The Senegal is forty days in rising to its height, and when it has overflowed its banks, the channel cannot be traced without great difficulty, even by those who are accustomed to navigate it; and when, a few years since, a French boat containing thirty men was sent up this river, they could only proceed about a thousand miles, their course being constantly impeded by the tops of trees, and the crew experiencing such a variety of hardships, that only five returned alive.

The extreme rapidity of the current near the mouth of the river, is attributed to the narrow and confined space through which so large a body of water flows; the influx into the ocean being not more than half a league in breadth, in the midst of which is a bar that contracts it still more, and renders the passage both difficult and dangerous. The navigation is extremely

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hazardous during the rainy season; when the prodigious swell of the stream, and the violence of the south-west winds opposed to its rapid course, produce waves of the most tremendous appearance, with a roaring noise that fills with horror the heart of the most adventurous mariner. This bar prevents ships of five or six hundred tons from entering the river; a circumstance, however, that is attended with considerable advantage, and from which the fort of St. Louis derives its principal strength and security.

After passing the bar, the river glides gently and smoothly, and is four fathoms in depth. The banks are variegated with a pleasing verdure, and the trees in perpetual bloom, which contain birds of the most vivid beauty. In this part of the country, wild beasts are very abundant, particularly elephants, which are very inoffensive when unmolested. In the low grounds grows a species of ebony, which rises to a prodigious height, and bears large bunches of yellow flowers of an aromatic smell. The bark of these trees is beautifully variegated with different colours, and the wood constantly bears the same hue as the bark, though the flowers of each are alike.

The Senegal forms a number of islands, which are well clothed with trees, fruits, and herbage; but the only one on which the French, who have been the chief proprietors of this part of the country since they took it from the Dutch in 1687, made any settlement, was the Senegal, situated in sixteen degrees and five minutes of northern latitude, and about five miles from the mouth of the river. This island, which is only

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two thousand three hundred yards in length, and, at a medium, scarcely three hundred in breadth, is a dry, sandy, and steril spot, but well defended by the fort of St. Louis, constructed in a quadrangular form, with two bastions of considerable strength, and an arsenal well supplied with stores and ammunition. After the French had been in possession of this settlement about five years, it fell into the hands of the English, who took it in 1692; but in the following year it was retaken. In 1758, Senegal again fell under the power of the English, by the activity and resolution of Captain Marsh of the navy, and Major Mason of the marines; who, with a small squadron of ships, added a valuable conquest to their country, without the loss of a single man. By the treaty of peace in 1763, it was ceded to Great Britain, which rendered the gum-trade almost exclusively our own; but it once more fell into the hands of the French, during the American war, to whom it was guaranteed in 1783.

The gum, called Senegal, or Arabic, which constitutes the principal commodity of this country, is reckoned a very valuable article of commerce, and made use of in many arts and manufactures, particularly painting and dying. The tree from which gum exudes, is described as a species of acacia, small and prickly, full of branches, and clothed with ever-green leaves extremely narrow, and of a moderate length. It bears a white flower, the bottom of which at length becomes a pod, filled with small and hard seed that serve to propagate the species. There are three forests of this tree, which are all situated in the desert north of the river, and at near-

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ly equal distances from it. They yield every year two crops, one in December, which is the more productive, the other in March. This gum is sold by the natives by a cubic measure called a quintal, which contains about two hundred weight; and in such amazing quantities is it produced, that a quintal of gum is frequently exchanged for goods, which in Europe are not worth more than half a crown.

CHAPTER XI.

Zaara; or the Desert.

UNDER this general head we shall include the countries of Biledulgerid and Tombuctoo, together with the several Moorish nations that inhabit the vicinity of this vast Desert, all of which are involved in much uncertainty. As many of these inhospitable regions have never been sufficiently explored by any person capable of communicating information, the descriptions to be met with in modern systems are pregnant only with invention and unauthenticated assertions. We shall, therefore, wave a practice which every liberal and ingenuous mind must condemn, and content ourselves with briefly arranging the best accounts that have been received, relative to this extensive and barren tract of territory.

Zaara is bounded by the Atlantic Ocean on the west; by Barca, Egypt, and Nubia, on the east; by the rivers Senegal and Niger on the south; and by Biledulgerid on the north; comprehending an immense extent of burning sands,

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the sterility of which no labour can overcome, unless near the few rivers and springs which are to be met with in this parched land. The Moors of this part of Africa very much resemble in their persons the mulattoes of the West-Indies; and seem to be a mixed race between those of the north and the negroes of the south. Of their origin, as distinguished from the inhabitants of Barbary, we are told, that before the Arabian conquest in the seventh century, the whole of the inhabitants on the continent of Africa then known, were generally denominated *Mauri*, or Moors. These people were converted to Mahometanism during the reign of the caliphs; and many of the Numidian tribes retired southward across the Great Desert, in order to avoid the fury of the Arabians. It is supposed that their dominion extends from west to east in a narrow belt, from the mouth of the Senegal to the confines of the empire of Abyssinia.

Between Cape Blanco and the river Senegal, the country is chiefly inhabited by those Moorish nations, that acknowledge the supremacy of a sovereign; each of them being governed by a chief, who is generally the most wealthy and considerable person of the tribe. Their government is founded on republican principles, and nothing can be effected without the advice and approbation of a council, or of an assembly of the whole tribe. They are brave and inured to fatigue; and though Mahometans, it would be very difficult to make them undertake a journey to Mecca, because they would gain nothing by it; but they frequently penetrate, without reluctance, to the centre of Africa, from whence they bring an amazing quantity of gold. This

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expedition is undertaken with large caravans laden with salt, cloth, and various instruments of iron; which they exchange for gold, ivory, musk, bezoar, and slaves. They also sometimes seize and carry off the negroes with whom they go to traffic, and sell them to the Europeans, or to the Moors of Fez and Morocco.

Their horses are extremely beautiful, and of the Barbary breed; and the Moors set a high value on them, on account of their fleetness, which enables them to plunder the negro countries. These steeds are often and plentifully fed, and have a large quantity of milk given to them every evening. The Moors are excellent horsemen, and ride without fear. One of their principal amusements is to gallop at full speed, and then stop the horse on a sudden, which frequently brings him down on his haunches. But the principal constituent of wealth is their numerous herds.

They live in tented villages, generally constructed in a circular form, with an empty space in the centre for the purpose of enclosing their cattle. Centinels are constantly placed on each side of this encampment, in order to guard against surprises by robbers or beasts of prey. On the slightest surmise of danger, they give the alarm, which is speedily conveyed throughout the village, when every man capable of bearing arms stands on the defensive, at the door of his tent. Their slender accommodations, indeed, and the want of every superfluity, give little encouragement to plunderers of their own species; for the whole of their wealth and property, their cattle only excepted, is easily conveyed on the backs of camels to a fresh encampment, and a

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more fertile and favourable spot. They generally subsist on cakes of millet; and their common beverage is water, or milk and whey; for though in those provinces which are watered by the Senegal, wheat and barley might be cultivated to great advantage, the innate love of rambling which characterizes this people, prevents them from paying any attention to agriculture, and they choose rather to depend on the spontaneous productions of the earth, than to confine themselves to any particular spot. "Like the roving Arabs," says Mr. Park, "the Moors frequently remove from one place to another, according to the season of the year, or the convenience of pasturage. In the month of February, when the heat of the sun scorches up every sort of vegetation in the Desert, they approach the negro country to the south; where they reside till the rains commence in July. During that period, they purchase corn and other necessaries from the natives of Nigritia, in exchange for salt, and then return to the Desert, where they continue till the succeeding February. This wandering life inures them to hardships, and strengthens the bonds of their society; but it creates in them an aversion towards strangers, which is almost insurmountable. Cut off from all intercourse with civilized nations, and boasting an advantage over the negroes, by the possession of their very limited knowledge of letters, they are proud, as well as bigoted, ferocious, and intolerant, and combine in their character the superstition of the negro, with the cruelty and treachery of the Arab."

Prevented as they are by local disadvantages from the gratification of voluptuous appetites,

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and wisely contented with the few conveniencies afforded them by their situation, the Moors and Arabs of Zaara and Biledulgerid enjoy a share of health which almost precludes the use of medicine. The distempers to which they are chiefly subject, are intermittent fevers and dysenteries, for the cure of which, prescriptions are sometimes administered by old women, but in general nature is left to herself. The small-pox at times occasions great destruction, and is frequently conveyed by the Moors to the negroes in the southern states. They are entire strangers to all acute and chronical diseases, which are the inevitable consequences of luxury and indolence; and often live to a great age without feeling the attacks of time; seldom dying before the vital heat is extinguished, and the circulation of the fluids impeded by a length of years. At sixty a man is said to be in the prime of life, and is equally juvenile and vigorous with an European of thirty; a circumstance which certainly proceeds from the uninterrupted temperance of their lives, and their exemption from the consuming passions of envy and ambition.

The passionate fondness which mothers express for their children would be highly commendable, were it not carried to a degree of excess that borders on weakness, superstition, and absurdity. They diligently watch over their offspring, in order to prevent the malignity of *an evil eye*, which they firmly believe can occasion diseases, misfortunes, and death.

Males are circumcised at the age of fourteen, after which they are permitted to marry whenever their circumstances are sufficiently affluent to enable them to purchase a wife; for, next to

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his cattle, the wealth of a father consists in the number of his daughters. The affection of a bridegroom is always estimated by his liberality, and by the value of his presents, and the young lady is never received, till her parents are sufficiently compensated for the loss of their daughter. If the suitor be disappointed in his expectations of the beauty or chastity of his bride, he may without ceremony return her, on forfeiture of the stipulated consideration. "In the evening," says Mr. Park, "the tabala, or large drum, was beat to announce a wedding which was held at one of the neighbouring tents. A great number of people of both sexes assembled, but without that mirth and hilarity which take place at a marriage among the negroes: here was neither singing nor dancing, nor any other amusement that I could perceive. A woman was beating the drum, and the other women joining at times like a chorus, by setting up a shrill scream; and at the same time moving their tongues from one side of the mouth to the other with great celerity. I was soon tired, and had retired into my hut, where I was sitting almost asleep, when an old woman entered, with a wooden bowl in her hand, and signified that she had brought me a present from the bride. Before I could recover from the surprise which this message created, the woman discharged the contents of the bowl full in my face. Finding that it was the same sort of holy water, with which, among the Hottentots, a priest is said to sprinkle a new married couple, I began to suspect that the old lady was actuated by mischief or malice; but she gave me seriously to understand, *that it was a nuptial benediction from the bride's own person;* and which

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on such occasions is always received by the young unmarried Moors, as a mark of distinguished favour."

They entertain very singular ideas relative to feminine perfection: with them gracefulness of figure and an expressive countenance are by no means requisite; corpulency and beauty are synonimous terms: *a perfect beauty is a load for a camel;* and a woman of moderate pretensions requires a slave on each side to support her. In consequence of this taste for unwieldiness of bulk, the Moorish ladies are at great pains to acquire it early in life, and for this purpose the mothers compel the young girls to devour a great quantity of kouskous, and to drink a large quantity of camel's milk, every morning. "*It* is of no importance," observes Mr. Park, "whether the girl has an appetite or not; the kouskous and milk must be swallowed, and obedience is frequently enforced by blows. I have seen a poor girl sit crying with the bowl at her lips, for more than an hour, and the mother holding a stick in her hand, which she used without mercy, whenever she observed that her daughter was not swallowing."

The ceremonies used at funerals greatly resemble those of the negroes on similar occasions. When any male native dies, one of his women or relations bursts into a loud outcry, which is the signal for all the females of the village to commence a doleful screaming. The people then assemble, and either deplore the loss of the deceased in the most plaintive strains, or commemorate his virtues in melancholy airs suited to the occasion. This lively and natural representation of grief, however, is entirely feigned,

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being equally bestowed on every man, without any distinction of rank or merit. The body is then washed, dressed, and placed upon an elevation, that the neighbours may take a last view of it; after which it is interred with the head a little raised, the face being turned to the east, and the grave, on which they plant a particular shrub that is not allowed to be plucked, or even touched, by strangers, is covered with stones.

The scientific attainments of the Moors and Arabs of the Desert are very limited; and the priests alone are capable of reading Arabic, or any other language, and their learning is almost wholly confined to the Koran, and the law of Mahomet. Some of them, however, have obtained a tolerable knowledge of astronomy, and can converse, with the precision of European scholars, on the number, situation, and division of the stars. They are very much attached to their music, which has a peculiar softness and effeminacy, and seems adapted to a people fond of pastoral ease, and too enervated to listen with pleasure to the "shrill notes of war." But they are by no means deficient in personal courage, and fight on horseback with amazing resolution and dexterity. It is said that the inhabitants of the Desert frequently mount the ostrich, whose speed distances the fleetest horse, when this gigantic bird expands its wings, and skims along the surface of the earth.

Zaara is divided into several provinces or kingdoms, among which are reckoned Zanaga, Zuenziga, Targa, Lempta, Bornou, Gaoga, Gedumah, Jaffnoo, Ludamar, Beeroo, Tombuctoo, and Houssa, which are all Moorish states.

Besides the beasts common to the torrid zone,

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this country is remarkable for a species of domestic animal, called adimnaim, which is about the size of an ass, with long pendant ears, and covered with fine short wool. It is so strong that it is capable of carrying a man several miles, and so gentle that it never refuses a burden. Lions, tigers, wolves, and other fell and savage creatures, add to the horrors of this inhospitable country, and render the situation of the inhabitants equally disagreeable and dangerous. Describing the Great Desert, Mr. Park says, "The disconsolate wanderer, wherever he turns, sees nothing around him but a vast indeterminable expanse of sand and sky; a gloomy and barren void, where the eye finds no particular object to rest upon, and the mind is filled with painful apprehensions of perishing with thirst. Surrounded by this dreary solitude, the traveller sees the dead bodies of birds, that the violence of the wind has brought from happier regions; and, as he ruminates on the fearful length of his remaining passage, listens with horror to the voice of the driving blast—the only sound that interrupts the awful repose of the Desert."

Geographers mention that Kala, in the province of Bardoa, and Gaoga, in that of the same name, are two of the most considerable towns in this sultry tract. There is also a place called Tegersa, which some writers consider as the capital, but of which we are not even told in what part of the desert it is situated.

The kingdom of Tombuctoo, which is the great object of European research, lies to the south-east of Zaara, extends to both sides of the Niger, and is said to be very considerable; but its limits are not known. The capi-

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tal bears the name of the kingdom, and is situated in the latitude of sixteen degrees and thirty minutes, and in the longitude of one degree and thirty-three minutes east of Greenwich. In this city, and the surrounding country, the houses are built in a conical form, and composed of hurdles, plaistered with clay. Tombuctoo, however, contains one handsome stone mosque; and the royal palace, which was designed and built under the immediate inspection of a native of Grenada, who had been driven hither when the Moors were expelled from Spain, is likewise a strong and handsome fabric.

In the city of Tombuctoo are many weavers and mechanics, and hither European cloth is brought from Barbary and the coast of Guinea; and it is one of the chief marts for that extensive commerce which the Moors carry on with the negroes. This sovereignty is well watered by canals cut from the Niger, as well as by a number of springs, which render the soil fertile, and productive in all kinds of grain, and almost every necessary of life. The king and all the chief officers are Moors; and the inhabitants are either of the same extraction, or Mahometan converts. Their principles are more intolerant than those of the natives of any other part of Africa. Mr. Park was informed by an old negro, that when he first visited Tombuctoo, the landlord of the place where he lodged, on conducting him into his hut, spread a mat on the floor, and laid a rope on it, saying, "If you are a Mussulman, you are my friend; sit down:—but if you are a Kafir (an unbeliever in the prophet,) you are my slave, and with this rope I will lead you to market." Christians are considered as enemies

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of Mahomet, and, therefore, never permitted to enter this country. There are many Jews at Tombuctoo; but they all speak Arabic, and use the same prayers as the Moors. If they did not thus conform themselves to the religion which prevails, they would not be suffered to remain here.

The present king of Tombuctoo is named Abu Abrahima; he possesses immense riches, and his wives and concubines are clothed in silk. He affects to shew some attention to literature, by the maintenance of several doctors, priests, and judges; but, except at court, the whole country exhibits scarcely the smallest glimmering of science. When the monarch visits his dominions, he rides on the back of a camel richly caparisoned, one of his principal officers attending him on foot. It is supposed that the military force of this country consists of about three thousand horsemen, who are armed with envenomed darts, besides a considerable number of infantry that bear shields or swords. The natives address the king with the most profound veneration and respect, prostrating themselves on the ground in the most suppliant manner, and sprinkling their heads and shoulders with dust. The chief officers of state live in considerable splendour; and the magnificence of the grandees is estimated by the number of slaves: but the indulgence of this species of pomp generally proves fatal; the disorderly manner of a crowd of slaves, their carelessness, or their treachery, often involving their master in danger and distress. The expence of the government is defrayed by a tax on merchandize, which is collected at the gates of the city. The currency of

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the country consists of small pieces of gold, and a species of shells or cowries, four hundred of which are only reckoned equivalent to a ducat.

The kingdom of Houssa is situated still farther towards the east. The capital is another great mart of Moorish commerce; and is larger and more populous than that of Tombuctoo; the trade, police, and government, is nearly the same; but the negroes are in greater proportion to the Moors, and have some share in the administration of the kingdom.*

A chain of lofty mountains separate Biledulgerid from Tripoli; but its other limits cannot be ascertained, as it joins the Desert, whose boundaries are likewise undefined and unknown. The whole country is mountainous, or stretching out into steril and sandy plains. The climate is fervid and insalubrious; and the natives are meagre, swarthy, and shrivelled, their eyes being inflamed by the ardent reflection of the sun, as well as by the deluges of dust and sand, occasioned by strong winds, which not unfrequently overturn huts, men, and cattle, and bury them in one indiscriminate grave.

The inhabitants of this district are an assemblage of different tribes, and principally consist of native Barebers and Arabs, who are said to be a treacherous, furtive, and cruel race of people. The former live with some regularity and order in villages, which are composed of a number of mean huts; the latter reside in tents,

* The Joliba, or Niger, is the prince of the western rivers of Africa, as the Nile is of the eastern. It has its rise about the fifth degree of west longitude, runs to the east-north-east, and is supposed to terminate in lakes in the eastern part of this continent.

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from whence they make continual excursions in search of plunder or subsistence. The natives use dates as the principal support of human life, to which is ascribed an inveterate scurvy in the gums of the inhabitants, frequently occasioning the loss of teeth at a very early period. They possess, however, in general, sound constitutions, and live untainted by diseases to a very advanced age; though they have hoary locks, and other concomitants of senility, very early in life. The plague and small-pox, which frequently desolate the contiguous countries of Barbary, are here wholly unknown; though the intercourse necessarily occasioned by travelling and commerce is never on these accounts suspended.

The Arabs value themselves on the superiority of their birth and talents over the primitive inhabitants, and live wholly independent. Many of them hire into the service of neighbouring princes, who are at war; and the occupation of others consists in hunting wild beasts, and taking ostriches; the last of which are a very profitable game, every part of them being applied to some valuable or useful purpose. Notwithstanding the low and imperfect state of literature in this country, there are public seminaries, to which boys of distinction are sent, who are instructed in such species of knowledge as are in the highest estimation, and from whence they are raised to the dignities of priests or judges, according to their genius, and the proficiency they have made in their studies. Even the study of poetry is admired and cultivated in this rude and barbarous country; and, notwithstanding the uncultivated genius and ignorance of the people, it is not uncommon for

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some of the natives to rise to distinguished honours in that art. The mechanical professions are despised as mean and servile, and beneath the dignity of their birth, and the women perform the most laborious offices of life.

The city of Teucera, which is the only place of eminence in Biledulgerid, is situated on the confines of Tunis, in thirty-two degrees twenty-eight minutes of northern latitude, and in ten degrees twenty-six minutes of eastern longitude, from London. It is supposed to have been built by the Romans, who fortified it with high and strong walls, the ruins of which are still to be seen. The Mahometans, on account of the gallant resistance made against their invasion by the inhabitants of this city, demolished the most beautiful structures it contained; since which period, a few low and mean huts have only been erected. Through the centre of the city flows a river, which forms a natural boundary between the habitations of the Arabs and Africans, who frequently make incursions into each other's territories, and commit depredations, with all the rancour of open enemies; yet both refuse to acknowledge the government of Tunis, and unite in repelling all foreign invasion.

CHAPTER XII.

The History of Barbary.

BARBARY, in a general view, comprehends the countries of Morocco and Fez, which form a distinct and separate empire, and the

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states of Algiers, Tunis, Tripoli, and Barca, all of which seem to constitute one great political confederacy, though independent of each other in their internal policy and government. Barbary, which was known to the ancients under the denomination of Mauritania, Numidia, Africa Proper, and Lybia, is said to have received its present appellation from the word *bar*, which signifies a desert; and hence, those who were its first inhabitants, assumed to themselves the name of *Barbares*, or *Berberes*, which they still retain. This vast tract of territory commences on the west at Mount Atlas, and extends as far as Alexandria in Egypt, which is its eastern boundary; being near two thousand miles from east to west, and, at its greatest breadth, seven hundred and fifty from north to south. The coasts are well watered by several copious streams, and the soil is extremely fertile in corn and pastures. The advantageous situation of Barbary induced the Carthaginians, Romans, Greeks, Saracens, Vandals, Arabs, and Turks, to make themselves successively masters of it, the last of whom are still in possession of this country, except a few settlements erected on the coast by some European nations.

The climate is temperate, and equally removed from the extremes of heat and cold; for though snow falls plentifully in winter, it seldom continues long on the ground, except upon Mount Atlas, where it is constantly seen during the whole year. The winter season commences about the middle of October, towards the end of which the rains set in that generally continue till the beginning of February; but the cold is not very severe. During the spring, which com-

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mences about the end of February, the weather is for the most part serene and pleasant, except in the month of May, when gentle refreshing showers, assisted by the temperate heat of the sun, bring the fruits of the earth to a gradual but early maturity; insomuch that figs and cherries are ripe in May, and grapes by the end of September. The summer is from the beginning of June to the end of August, during which period the heats are excessive and inimical to health; and the atmosphere becomes so hot, as to occasion malignant and pestilential diseases, which, as the Mahometans think it impious to attempt their cure, frequently carry off great numbers of people. A sensible diminution of heat begins to be felt about the beginning of September, when the autumn commences, which is a pleasant and delightful season.

In Barbary all sorts of provisions are cheap and plentiful, and the soil produces almost every kind of European grain, with rice, millet, and a variety of pulse: a bushel of wheat may be purchased for sixteen pence, and a cow for a guinea, with other articles in proportion. Horses, asses, camels, dromedaries, and a creature denominated *kumrah*, which is bred from an ass and a cow, are the usual beasts of burden.

This tract of territory is inhabited by three different classes of people; the original Moors, the Arabs, and the descendants of the Turks, (who possessed themselves of some of the finest provinces, and rendered Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, tributary,) besides a variety of nations, and renegadoes of every Christian persuasion, that have bartered their faith for their freedom.

The Moors are represented as ignorant, su-

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perstitious, lewd, treacherous, furtive, and deceitful. Indeed, the degeneracy of their morals can only be equalled by the misery of their situation, than which nothing can be conceived more abject and wretched. Borne down by an accumulation of taxes, oppressed by cruelty, and exposed to the continual inroads of the plundering Arabs, they only provide for a bare subsistence, as a more than temporary provision would stimulate the governors to impose fresh exactions, and increase the depredations of the Arabs; and thus, in order to avoid the cruel oppressions of the former, and the insults and ravages of the latter, they are obliged to submit to penury and want. This situation, which totally depresses the faculties of the soul, and checks the ardour of honest emulation, might reasonably be considered as the aggregate of all the miseries attendant on terror and despotism. But these people possess almost unparalleled patience, and not only do they abstain from repining at the wretchedness of their situation, but even seem to enjoy a portion of felicity unknown to those nations, where the human mind is left at liberty to enter on more extensive scenes of action, and to indulge in the prospect of advantages remotely consequential, without fear, and without restraint. They seem not to feel the weight of their yoke, and they never express themselves with dissatisfaction and discontent, much less do they utter curses and imprecations against the authors of their misery. Though contending with hunger and nakedness, they frequently form a circle near their humble cots, where they amuse themselves in cheerful narrations, or smoke, sing, and dance, till wearied,

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when they stretch themselves at ease on the ground, and indulge in their habitual indolence. This description of the Moors, however, is chiefly applicable to those who live in the country, and follow the occupation of agriculture, and the breeding of cattle; the inhabitants of the sea-coast enjoying a superior share of affluence, though suffering equally under an oppressive and arbitrary government.

The Turks, who inhabit Barbary, are very few in number, and the most infamous people that reside here; being destitute of almost every virtue, and addicted to every vice. Their character is contemptible in the extreme; but they possess exorbitant power, treating the natives with intolerable insolence; insomuch that even the principal Moors will tremble at the sight of a Turkish common soldier.—From an account of the country and its inhabitants, we proceed to give a concise and general history of Barbary.

Techifien, the chief of a Moorish tribe, in the beginning of the twelfth century, and towards the year 1107, had the address to unite under his command all the other tribes; with these he engaged the Arabs, who had the greatest sway in Africa, over whom he gained several important victories, and, at length, expelled them out of all the western parts; and thus formed a powerful empire in the neighbourhood of Mount Atlas. He was succeeded by his son Joseph, a prince no less brave and successful than his father, and who, at the beginning of his reign, laid the foundation of the city of Morocco. He declared war against the king of Fez, and leading his army into the territories of that prince, attacked and defeated his forces, and compelled

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him, together with the monarch of Tunis, to acknowledge him as their sovereign, and to pay him tribute; and having thus extended his conquests along the coast of the Mediterranean, he returned to Morocco. His martial and ambitious spirit would not permit him to enjoy ease and tranquillity; and he resumed operations in such a manner against the Arabian cheicks, who refused to acknowledge themselves as his vassals, and to become tributaries, that they were struck with a general consternation and dismay, and fled with precipitation to their inaccessible holds and fastnesses. Nothing, however, could defend them from the vengeance of Joseph, who attacking them in their retreats, at length entirely subdued them.

At the request of the Moorish princes established in Spain, he appeared twice in that kingdom, at the head of powerful armies. He died soon after his return from thence at his capital of Morocco, and left the sovereignty to his son Ali,

A. D. 1110. a prince less warlike than his father, and who, instead of attending to the conquests in Spain, employed himself in erecting several splendid buildings; which afforded Alphonso, king of Arragon, an opportunity of recovering many considerable cities and provinces. At length, however, he was prevailed on, by the repeated entreaties of the Moorish princes, to make several descents upon that kingdom, in the last of which his army was defeated with the loss of thirty thousand men, and himself deprived of both his life and his crown.

A. D. 1115. Ali was succeeded by his son Brahem, a prince as much addicted to pleasure as averse to martial exploits, and who im-

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mediately after his accession to the throne, had no sooner endeavoured to secure the peace of his dominions by confirming the governors and principal officers in their provinces and places, than he gave himself up to indolence and debauchery. This conduct, together with the taxes with which he burdened them, excited the universal indignation of his subjects, many of whom took up arms against their sovereign. The leader of these insurgents was Abdallah, a man of considerable talents and political sagacity, and who was at the head of a religious sect. Brahem, immersed in pleasure, and regardless of every occurrence, did not attend to the revolt whilst it might have been suppressed. At length, however, he took the field against the insurgents, but with an army not sufficiently powerful for opposing and disappointing their intentions. His troops were defeated in the first engagement, and the unfortunate prince was compelled to fly for refuge; but being pursued by his revolted subjects, and seeing no method to avoid falling into their hands, he pushed his horse over a precipice, and was dashed to pieces.

After the death of Abdallah, his chief general Abdolumen, supported by the suffrages of all the other revolted chiefs, was declared his successor, and proclaimed king accordingly. Brahem, however, having left an infant son, whom, at his departure from the capital, he had committed to the care of proper governors, on the news of his father's death, he was acknowledged as sovereign of Morocco, and all the inhabitants swore allegiance to him. This circumstance was no sooner reported to Abdolumen, than he immediately marched an army against the capital, which he

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invested. It was bravely defended by the inhabitants, but he took a solemn oath that he would not raise the siege till he had reduced the city, and made it to pass through a sieve. In order to accomplish his oath, and to obliterate for ever the memory of the founders of Morocco, he caused the most ancient and splendid edifices, particularly the royal palace and other public buildings, to be levelled with the ground, and the stones to be broken and reduced to powder, which was sifted. He then constructed, in a more ample and sumptuous manner, other palaces and other mosques, which he denominated after his own name; but he had the mortification to see all those edifices resume the names of the kings their founders, by which they had been formerly distinguished. He put the son of the late monarch to death; and exercised the greatest cruelty against the citizens and soldiers who had signalized themselves in the defence of the city, or had exhibited zeal and loyalty in the cause of the infant sovereign.

In the mean time, the Moorish princes in Spain, greatly harassed by the exertions of king Alphonso, repeatedly entreated Abdolumen to pass over to their assistance: but his own dominions demanding all his attention, he could only send them an army of thirty thousand men, who were very serviceable against the Christians. On the death of Abdolumen, his son, Joseph the second, ascended the throne, and imitated his predecessors in making descents on Spain. He was succeeded by his son Almansor, which signifies conqueror, who carried the war into Spain, and also subdued Numidia, and all the country which extends as far as Tripoli, comprehending

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Morocco, Fez, and Tunis, to the deserts of Lybia. He likewise gained several victories over the Christians, and became the most powerful king that had reigned in Africa since the time of the Arabian caliphs. During the period of his absence in Spain, the governor of Morocco revolted; but not daring to meet his sovereign in the field, he retired into the capital, where he fortified himself. The king immediately invested the city, but, after besieging it for some time, was under the necessity of promising pardon to the rebel, on condition of his delivering up Morocco. Almansor, however, not able to restrain his anger at the sight of the revolted governor, commanded his head to be struck off. But, touched with remorse at his cruelty and breach of faith, the king immediately disappeared, and wandered about obscure and unknown, and, at length, commenced the business of a baker at Alexandria. Here he was found some years after by one of his wives, who loved him with great tenderness, and had left Morocco to search for her husband. Almansor not being to be prevailed on to return to his kingdom, the emirs conferred the crown on his son, who experiencing great misfortunes in Spain, died of grief. A. D. 1212. When intelligence was received of his death, all the governors of the different provinces revolted against his son, who was still a child; and this vast empire, towards the middle of the thirteenth century, was divided into the several nations and kingdoms, which are now known by the name of the States of Barbary.

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CHAPTER XIII.

Empire of Morocco and Fez.

MOROCCO and Fez, which now compose one empire, extend from the twenty-eighth to the thirty-sixth degree of north latitude, and from the fourth to the eleventh of west longitude, from London; being about five hundred miles long, and two hundred and fifty broad. It comprehends Fez, Morocco Proper, and Suz; besides the kingdom of Tafilet and the province of Gesula. The climate is in general hot, but not insalubrious, if compared with the neighbouring countries of Tunis and Algiers. Mount Atlas surrounds this country on the south, in the form of a crescent; and is the source of some considerable rivers, which, after a meandering course of many leagues, empty themselves into the Atlantic Ocean. The principal rivers are the Mulvya, which divides the kingdom of Fez from Algiers; the Taga, which discharges its waters into the Mediterranean, near the Straits of Gibraltar; the Cebu, which in its course passes between two rocks of prodigious height, and falls into the sea near Mamon; the Omnirabih, commonly denominated the Marbeah, which, after a long course, discharges itself into the ocean, and forms a capacious bay on the east side of Azamor; the Tonsist, which empties itself into the sea, near the port of Saffi; and the Suz, that gives name to the province through which it flows, and forms its boundary.

Besides these great rivers, there are a variety of branches which intersect the country, and fer-

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tilize the soil. Were this empire properly cultivated, it would produce two or three crops in the year; but, except for a few leagues round the towns, it is entirely waste, or plundered by the wandering Arabs. This country is famous for its horses, that are called barbs; dromedaries esteemed for their swiftness; and camels so useful in barren and sandy deserts, and which will travel ten days without water, and without any other sustenance than what each part of their body furnishes for their support. On these occasions the bunch on the back of the camel seems to decrease in size, then the belly and buttocks, till finally they become so weak and emaciated that they are incapable of sustaining a load of a hundred weight, though when well fed, they will easily carry one of eight or nine hundred during the longest journeys.

The inhabitants that call themselves the oldest natives in this empire, are the Berberes, who still retain their ancient customs and language; and, as they are not yet entirely subdued, they live in huts upon the mountains. The Arabs wander from one place to another with their numerous herds, and cultivate the plains and most fruitful parts of this country; and, though they pay some tribute to the emperor of Morocco, they are in reality subject only to shariffs elected by themselves, and chosen from among their own people. Several tribes subsist merely by plunder, and inhabit inaccessible places, from which they descend to commit depredations on the caravans and travellers. The Moors are the descendants of those who were expelled out of Spain; and, though poor and oppressed, are extremely numerous, especially on the coasts; but

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as they have no ships of their own, they carry on no direct trade with foreign nations. They are reckoned avaricious, deceitful, superstitious, revengeful, jealous, and treacherous; and in these vices are surpassed only by the Jews, who come hither from Portugal and Spain. These last being the merchants, factors, and bankers of the kingdom, are exposed to excessive taxes, which they alleviate by fraudulent means. The renegadoes are a distinct class of people, not less detested by the other inhabitants than by Christians. They are employed in the meanest and most servile offices; and when distributed into the army, are placed in the foremost ranks, and if they in the least give way, they are immediately cut to pieces.

The slaves constitute another considerable and numerous class of people, and in no part of the world are they treated with more rigour and inhumanity than in Morocco: they are all the property of the king, and are never suffered to enjoy the least relaxation from their labours. Barley bread fried in oil is the only food which is allowed them; and often when they put one hand to their mouths, the other is employed in some painful and dirty work. Merciless overseers continually beat them if they seek the least repose, or seem in any degree to relax from their labour; and it is no uncommon thing to see them fall a prey to fatigue, and to expire under the blows of their unrelenting masters. During the night they are shut up in a subterraneous dungeon, into which they descend by a ladder of ropes, that is afterwards drawn up, and the mouth of the prison is fastened with an iron grate. The dress of these unfortunate people

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consists of a long coat of coarse woollen cloth, with a hood, which serves them as cap, shirt, and breeches; and they are never allowed stockings or shoes. The women and married persons, in order that they may produce new slaves, are exempted from the severest labours, but they are neither better fed, better clothed, nor better lodged than the rest of their companions. Their masters are not very solicitous that they should renounce the Christian faith, as in that case they would become free.

In Morocco there exists a distinguished race of Moors, who occupy the highest and most lucrative places, and make a great figure in the country; on account, however, of their power and opulence, they are more exposed to the avarice, cruelty, and jealousy of the sovereign, who is despotic; and often pay dearly for their distinction and pre-eminence. Lastly, upon Mount Atlas are found a kind of savages, who live on the fruits of the earth, and what they take by hunting. It is evident, therefore, that the inhabitants of this empire consist of men of all kinds, of all religions, and of all shapes and colours; for even negroes are not wanting.

The principal towns in the empire of Morocco are Morocco, Fez, Sallee, Tetuan, Mequinez, Tangier, and Ceutu, all of which are ornamented with beautiful edifices, separated by a kind of huts in which the populace reside; insomuch that luxury is every where accompanied by wretchedness: a mixture not unfrequent in despotic states.

The history of the world does not furnish any example of a more despotic government than that of Morocco. Religion, laws, customs, all conspire to render the monarch absolute and ar-

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bitrary, and to confirm the subject in the most abject and miserable state of slavery. The emperor who is called the shariff, has an unbounded power, not only over the lives and fortunes, but also over the consciences, of his subjects; being the only person, as the successor of Mahomet, qualified to be grand interpreter of the Koran, and nominating and appointing all the judges under his government. No sooner are his laws enacted than they are proclaimed throughout the empire, and received with an implicit and religious veneration: those who die in the execution of his commands, are supposed to be immediately admitted into paradise; and those who receive their death from his own hands, to enjoy the greatest happiness a future state can afford. These notions being carefully inculcated and implicitly believed, we need not wonder to find, on the one hand, cruelty, tyranny, and oppression; and, on the other, passive submission, gross ignorance, and unrepining slavery.

The titles assumed by the king of Morocco are, the Most Gracious, Mighty, and Noble Emperor of Africa, King of Fez and Morocco, Tafilet, Suz, Dahra, and all the Algarbe and its territories in Africa, and Grand Shariff (that is, Vicegerent) of the Great Prophet Mahomet.

As the emperor is esteemed the sole heir of all his subjects, he seizes on the whole of their effects, and only makes such provision for their families, as he himself may think proper, and which is generally very inconsiderable. By way, however, of preserving the shadow of justice, the meanest subject in his dominions has the power of summoning the emperor before the mufti's tribunal (a sort of spiritual jurisdiction;) but the

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danger which never fails to attend the enforcement of this pretended privilege, proves a very sufficient security against his being ever troubled with any such citation.

The revenues of this prince consist in these heritages, and in the sale of employments; and frequent gratuities demanded from those who possess them. Another considerable fund arises from the tribute paid by all corsairs; besides what is given for the privilege of purchasing slaves at fifty crowns each. These slaves are sometimes sold by the monarch at a profit of one hundred *per cent*; but they are generally kept and employed in his own labours, which also form a branch of his revenue. He has likewise the tenth part of the cattle, fruits, and productions of the earth; which, however, cost him some trouble to collect, as he is obliged, for that purpose, to send out troops, who compel the Arabs, Moors, and Berberes, the inhabitants of the country, to pay the tythe of their produce. The Jews and Christians, for the privilege of trading, pay a capitation tax; and, lastly, exorbitant exactions are made on Christian princes and states as tribute for restraining the corsairs, and suffering only a certain number of them to attack their vessels.

Nature, however, has wisely imposed a check on the avarice and licentiousness of this government, by affording them no good ports; Sallee, which is very considerably the best, being always dry at low water; and as it is also shut up by a dangerous bar, so that it will only admit vessels of small force, their navy is of very little importance. During peace the land forces are greatly neglected and dispersed throughout the

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empire; they generally amount to forty thousand men. The infantry are badly armed and ill-disciplined; the cavalry are better maintained; but the most formidable corps is that of the negroes, who compose the emperor's body-guard, and amount to four or five thousand men, without enumerating those dispersed throughout the provinces. An escort of these troops is greatly desired by every governor, as well for the sake of pleasing the emperor, as to secure his own safety. The negroes who form these detached troops are afterwards embodied into those of the emperor, and this promotion is an object of emulation and reward.

Learning, as may well be presumed, is at its lowest ebb in this country; and even some of the emperors have been incapable of reading or writing; qualifications which are chiefly confined to the priests and doctors of the law, and rarely to be met with among the common people. There are, however, some regular schools in their cities and towns, for teaching children to read, write, and cypher; but the Koran is esteemed the perfection of all human learning, and when once the student has gone through it, he is superbly dressed, placed on horseback, and conducted through the town in triumph, by his school-fellows. The inhabitants are much addicted to astrology, and have great confidence in charms, sorcery, and amulets.

They are Mahometans of the sect of Melech, but they blend certain Pagan rites with the doctrines of the Koran: they carry provisions to the tombs of the dead, where they assemble in great numbers every Friday; and the women never fail to be present at these meetings, which

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form a part of their recreations. In these offices, the priests, who generally have cells in the vicinity of these repositories, join with much apparent zeal and devotion for a very inconsiderable sum. The profound veneration, however, with which the inhabitants of Morocco treat the holy name of God, is well worth the notice and imitation of Christians. The impious practice of profane swearing is wholly unknown among them; and their detestation of Christians is not a little increased by the blasphemous and indecent manner, in which the votaries of the gospel of Jesus express themselves on every trivial occasion.

They pay great veneration to persons who have performed a pilgrimage to Mecca, whom they call hadgis or saints, and allow them peculiar privileges. Even the animals on which they rode during the journey are considered as holy, exempted from all future services, and maintained till their death, when they are interred with great ceremony. If a man be convicted of having absented himself from the mosque during the period of eight days, for the first offence he is rendered incapable of giving evidence in a court of justice; for the second, he is fined; and for the third, burned as a heretic. The women are not permitted to enter these places of worship, as they would too much distract the attention of the religious mussulmen. "Let them," say they, "propagate their species; it was for that purpose they were created." They believe that all shall be saved, who die under fifteen years of age; but none above that period, unless they be of the same creed as themselves. If a Jew or a Christian enters a mosque,

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he is burned or impaled alive, unless he become a Mahometan. They think it no crime to break their word with infidels, as they denominate those who do not believe in the mission of the prophet, and to oppress them in every possible manner. There is scarcely a more perfidious and rapacious people on the face of the earth; and even the emperor himself and his ministry are remarkably fond of presents, and desirous of obtaining them. In Morocco it is a common proverb, that "vinegar received as a present, is sweeter than honey which has been purchased." In no place is the *ramadan*, or lent, observed with more strictness. Even children are compelled to submit to this religious duty; and the crews of their corsairs, though the greatest villains in existence, will not allow the smallest infraction of this fast. The punishments inflicted by the inhabitants of Morocco are horrid; criminals are frequently sawn asunder, lengthwise or across; impaled alive; or burned to death by a slow fire.

The language of this country is the *Arabese*, or modern Arabic, which is spoken in every part of the Barbary states, and is very extensively used, being propagated in all the dominions of the grand-seignior, and preserved by those who make pilgrimages to Mecca. The inhabitants of Morocco never suffer their quarrels to terminate in murder, for the commission of which their religion allows no pardon. A crowd of curious spectators never accompany a criminal to the place of execution; if they meet one on the road, they view him with looks of sorrow and compassion; nor can they comprehend for what reason the people in our cities are fond of such unpleasant sights. Games of chance are pro-

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hibited by the laws; and the gambling assemblies of Europe, which are so active and so turbulent, afford them another subject for speculation and astonishment. In paying visits, they never spend more time than is absolutely necessary for the business which is the object of them; and they never enter into any desultory conversation respecting the affairs of their neighbours, or the concerns of the state. On these occasions, the usual entertainment consists of sherbet, coffee, and a pipe of tobacco. They drink and smoke in silence; after which they take their leave. Wine and strong liquors are prohibited under the severest penalties; and even the greatest and most powerful lords dare not infringe this law, except in the most secret manner.

There are two political maxims, to which the emperor of Morocco pays particular attention: one of these consists in permitting and protecting in his ports, the consuls and merchants of the Christian nations with whom he is at war, in order to encourage and preserve the commerce of his states. The other is, to live on friendly terms with the republics of Tunis, Algiers, and Tripoli, that they may form a barrier against the designs of the Othman Porte, and also may not interrupt each other in their piracies.

In the general history of Barbary, we have already seen, that in the commencement of the sixteenth century, after the death of Almansor, this vast empire was divided among the governors or viceroys, who rendered themselves independent. From that period, the sovereign power was transferred from one person to another through several tribes, till A. D. 1516.

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at length it became vested in that of Oatzes, who established the throne at Fez, and appointed governors to rule at Morocco. In the province of Dhara, there lived a person named Hassan, who pretended to be of the race of the shariffs, or descendants of Mohammed, and who had acquired great respect by his virtue, piety, and knowledge. This man had three sons, grown to maturity, who were called Abdelquivir, Hammed, and Mahomet, and whom he educated in the same principles. In order to raise their reputation among the devotees, Hassan determined to send them on a pilgrimage to Mecca, where they conducted themselves with such prudence, and exhibited such proofs of their piety and holiness, that, on their return, the people flocked round them in crowds, wherever they passed, to kiss the hem of their garments.

Hassan and his sons pretended to ecstatic visions and revelations, and affected an extraordinary zeal for the Mahometan faith; insomuch that, at length, they were considered as envoys deputed by heaven to be the defenders of the religion of the prophet. The old shariff, who conducted the matter, sent two of his sons to Fez, where they insinuated themselves so much into the favour of the king, that he raised Hammed, the eldest, to a professor's chair in the celebrated college in that city, and appointed Mahomet, the youngest, preceptor to his own children.

Taking advantage of the royal favour and of their influence in the college, they requested and obtained the governments of Suz, Morocco, Hoa, Tremecen, and Ducata. Muley Nacer, the king's brother, a person of much prudence

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and discernment, penetrated the sinister designs of the shariffs, remonstrated with the monarch on the impropriety of his conduct, and ceased not to exclaim, that there was great reason to be suspicious of these hypocrites; but his remonstrances were vain and ineffectual. The two brothers had no sooner arrived in the provinces of their government, than they raised the standard of Mahomet against the Portuguese, who had possession there of some small and inconsiderable settlements. They also affected great zeal in the cause of the Mahometan religion, which failed not to procure them a great number of mussulmen soldiers; and attacking the city of Mezoar, whose inhabitants had sided with the Portuguese, they made themselves masters of it, and of the whole province of Dhara. These successes raised their reputation to such a height, that not only the king of Fez and his subjects, but all the Moors in general, applauded the choice that had been made of these shariffs. Muley Nacer alone penetrated their perfidious designs, and lamented the evils which he could not prevent. The repeated remonstrances of this prince, however, began to produce some effect on the mind of the king, when Mahomet, after rendering himself absolute in his government, built a magnificent palace in the capital of his province, and assumed the title of prince of Hoa.

The two brothers soon after formed the design of making themselves masters of the city of Morocco, which with the neighbouring territory was occupied by a prince of a petty tribe. In order to avoid the tediousness and uncertainty of a siege, they resolved, if possible, to obtain

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possession of the place by treachery; which was accordingly effected by poisoning the prince. Not thinking themselves, however, sufficiently strong to profess openly their designs, they sent a splendid embassy to the king of Fez, assuring the monarch of their entire submission to his authority, and that they would pay him an annual tribute. Their father Hassan was now dead; and their eldest brother Abdelquivir, who was the least warlike of the three, had been killed in an engagement. They were at that time known under the denomination of the two shariffs, and considered and extolled among the good and pious mussulmen as the most steady and strenuous supporters of their holy religion; and having attained to this high degree of power, they at length resolved to maintain their independence, and to renounce their allegiance to the king of Fez. The monarch, now sensible of his imprudence, expressed his resentment by menaces, to which the treacherous shariffs paid no regard.

A. D. 1529. This prince died soon after of grief, and was succeeded by his son, who having been educated under Mahomet, the youngest of the three brothers, imagined that he could gain his preceptor, by giving him to understand, that in consideration of a small annual tribute he would confirm him in his power and dignity. To this Mahomet replied, that being a descendant of the great prophet, it was neither lawful nor becoming his dignity and honour that he should pay tribute to any one. "If you are indeed," continued he, "desirous of treating me as a friend, I shall always entertain a grateful remembrance of the favours I have received from your father and from you;

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but if you endeavour to obstruct me in the war which I am now carrying on against the Christians, you must expect for that impiety the just judgment of God and of his prophet; and as for myself, I want neither strength nor courage to counteract any attempts that may be made to divest me of my dignity and authority."

This answer being reported to the king of Fez, he laid siege to the capital of Morocco; but being repulsed by the garrison, was obliged to abandon the enterprize. The two shariffs soon after united their forces, and attacking the monarch in his retreat, compelled his army to betake themselves to flight, when all the tents and baggage of the sovereign fell into the hands of the enemy. After this success, Mahomet assumed the title of king, which had before been given to his brother Hammed, whom he now exceeded as much in power, as he had hitherto surpassed him in valour and policy. The latter, however, displeased to see his younger brother usurp a dignity, which he considered as belonging exclusively to himself, declared war against Mahomet; who prudently forbore all kinds of hostility till he was attacked by Hammed, and contented himself with apprising the principal officers of his army of his brother's treachery and ingratitude. A general engagement soon after took place between the armies of the two rivals, in which that of Hammed was defeated with the loss of eight thousand men, and himself and one of his sons were taken prisoners.

At length, by the intervention of the nobles, a treaty of partition was concluded between the two brothers, by which it was agreed, that Ma-

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homet should possess the government of Suz, together with all the provinces to the south of Mount Atlas, and that Harran, his eldest son, should be declared heir to the kingdoms which they conjointly possessed. Hammed, however, was no sooner set at liberty, and had reached his capital of Morocco, than he refused to ratify the treaty, which he considered as extremely prejudicial to his own family. This was followed by another bloody and desperate engagement, in which the forces of the unfortunate Hammed were again defeated, and himself taken prisoner, and banished with his family to the province of Tafilet. Mahomet afterwards declared war against the king of Fez, and being as usual victorious, took that prince prisoner, and loaded him with irons.

The preceptor, still mindful of his former condition, no sooner beheld his unfortunate pupil, than he commenced a pedantic remonstrance, in which he reminded him of the instructions he had formerly given him, and reproached the monarch with inattention to them, and with having suffered crimes and abominations to be introduced into his capital, that had formerly cherished religion and the sciences. "If you now find yourself stripped of royalty," said the hypocritical shariff, "as a punishment for the negligence of which you have been guilty, do not imagine that I am the author of your misfortunes. God himself has contended on my side against you; and your defeat ought wholly to be ascribed to him. Be of good courage, however, and confide, that you will soon be re-established in your dominions." Having heard him with great patience, the pri-

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soner made him a short compliment for the promise contained in the latter part of his speech, and replied: "I can scarcely bring myself to believe, that you took up arms against me merely for the purpose of giving me this lesson. I readily acknowledge, indeed, that a great many abuses and irregularities, which a monarch can neither foresee nor prevent, may be introduced into a state; but even supposing that those crimes, of which you accuse me, were of the most enormous and flagrant kind, and that it was entirely owing to my negligence and remissness, that they were not checked, what authority could you have for punishing my errors; you, whom my father raised from the low condition of a schoolmaster to that high degree of power, to which you have now attained? Does it become you, whom I myself have loaded with the greatest favours, to repay them with ingratitude, under the specious cloak of virtue and religion?"

The prince here paused; his indignation against the treacherous shariff, together with the pain arising from his wounds, to which he had been hindered from paying due attention, by Mahomet's zeal for the reformation of his pupil, prevented him for some time from continuing his speech, but at length he resumed his narrative: "To avoid what might give you uneasiness, by unveiling to those who are present, and hear our discourse, your profound dissimulation, I have only to add, that Divine Providence seems to have delivered me into your hands, in order to try what use you will make of your victory; and whether, after violating the most solemn treaties, and the sacred ties of al-

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legiance and gratitude, you are still capable of repentance. And since you have undertaken before this assembly to remind me of my duty, let us see whether you can perform your own; and whether you can perceive how far the inconstancy of fortune may have rendered us serviceable and necessary to each other."

This severe reply only produced a malignant smile on the countenance of the shariff; who, however, treated his prisoner with much outward respect. But when they came to mention the terms of his ransom, this ungenerous conqueror insisted that the king of Fez should deliver up to him his capital, whenever he might think proper to demand it. Hammed, the brother of Mahomet, who was dissatisfied with the portion of territory allotted him, judging of the discontent of the king of Fez by his own, proposed to that prince to conclude a league offensive and defensive against their common enemy. Before, however, that matters were brought to a crisis, and even without knowing whether a rupture would take place, Mahomet suddenly presented himself before Fez, and summoned the king to surrender the city. This the monarch absolutely refused, and alleged, that the inhabitants were unwilling to open their gates, and to change their sovereign. Mahomet, however, having secretly gained over the people to his interest, by promising them certain advantages, was received into the city, and the unfortunate king fled with precipitation into the fortress, where, being destitute of provisions, he was obliged to submit himself to the conqueror. The only terms on which he obtained his life were, that he should live as a private individual, in what-

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ever place Mahomet should think proper to appoint. The unfortunate prince was commanded soon after to retire with his family to Morocco, where he might be under the immediate power of the conqueror; and Hammed was banished to the desert, in the hopes that his name would never more be mentioned.

This prince, however, contrived means to escape from his dreary abode, and once more appeared in arms against his brother, who took him prisoner soon after, and sent him with all his children to Morocco, which became his prison. Mahomet, in his old age, experienced misfortunes which irritated his temper: he lost in war a favourite son, to whom he confided his most important concerns, and his arms were not accompanied with that success which had hitherto attended them. He became afraid of treachery and revolt, which contributed to render his life wretched, and his disposition cruel and tyrannical. He caused the unfortunate king of Fez and his son to be put to death, on suspicion that the monarch had excited in a neighbouring province an insurrection, which had been wholly owing to his own tyranny and exactions. The aged shariff, however, could not avoid his melancholy and untimely fate.

During the time in which Mahomet had been employed in subduing Morocco, Barbarossa had made himself master of Algiers; and between these two warriors there existed an ancient friendship, which was only dissolved by the death of the latter. His son Hassan, who on the demise of his father had ascended the throne of that kingdom, being informed that Mahomet was making preparations against him, and afraid

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that he should not be able to resist so formidable an enemy, dispatched an assassin, who, in consideration of a sum of money, promised to murder the tyrant. This was accordingly effected; and such was the tragical fate of Mahomet, who, under the specious cloak of religion and sanctity, and by the basest means, had raised himself to the summit of power and greatness. No sooner was the news of his death carried to Morocco, than Budear, the governor of that city, fearing Hammed, whom he had then in custody, would find means to excite a sedition among the people, caused him and seven of his sons or grandsons to be massacred. Thus the two rival brothers, who had so long contended for the empire, perished by violent deaths almost at the same time.

A. D. 1557. Mahomet was succeeded in the kingdom by his son Abdallah, the first measures of whose government were employed in punishing the officious cruelty of Budear. In the number of those whom that minister had caused to be put to death, were two young princes, born by Lela Mariam, the sister of Abdallah, to Zidan, the eldest son of Hammed. The princess, greatly affected with this melancholy event, resolved to be avenged on the murderer of her children. For that purpose she endeavoured to inspire Abdallah with suspicions of Budear, then grand-vizier, whom she insinuated to have murdered those princes with no other view than that of securing the crown to his brother; and that, on the death of the sovereign, he would also put to death the king's son. Though the monarch entertained a greater affection for his sister than was consistent, he refused to give cre-

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dit to this information, and requested farther proof of the vizier's designs. Lela Mariam, therefore, devised a stratagem which had the desired effect.

She proposed to her brother that he should feign himself ill, and that no person should be permitted to see him. The vizier was frequent in his visits, and being always refused admittance, began to suspect that the king was dead, and that his sister, for some political reasons, intended to conceal this circumstance from the public. Budear, therefore, demanded to be admitted in a haughty and resolute tone, and told the princess that there was an absolute necessity of his being satisfied whether the monarch was alive or not. Lela, as if forced to comply, acknowledged that her brother was dead, and conducted the vizier into an apartment where he beheld the prince stretched out motionless, having his face covered with a veil. She then asked his opinion of what was proper at such a juncture, and proposed that the son of the deceased monarch should be proclaimed king. The vizier, however, replied, that the prince was too young to succeed his father; and that it would be necessary to have some one capable of governing the state, of punishing the crimes which Abdallah had tolerated, and of rewarding the worthy persons whom he had overlooked; that no one was better qualified for filling the vacant throne than his brother; and that, notwithstanding his obligations to the late king, he would be the first to oppose the succession of his son.

Budear would have added more, but Abdallah, no longer able to contain himself, uncovered his face, and shaking his staff, began a speech

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filled with the most severe invectives and reproaches. The vizier, confounded and terrified, immediately quitted the royal presence, and disguising himself in female attire, fled out of the city. But while he was waiting under an olive-tree in expectation of horses which he had ordered to follow, some huntsmen who passed that way, taking him for a woman of pleasure, lifted up his veil, and recognized him. Their finding the vizier in such a situation inspired them with suspicions; and they accordingly conducted him before the emperor, who, not recovered from the violence of his anger and resentment, ordered him to immediate execution. From that period Abdallah became extremely jealous and cruel, and endeavoured to remove whatever might seem to interrupt either his repose or his pleasures.

A. D. 1574. Abdallah was succeeded by his son Muley Mahomet, who was surnamed the Negro, because born of a negro woman.

A. D. 1578. This prince, a few years after his accession to the throne, was deposed by his uncle Muley Moluch, who gained the famous battle of Alcassor, in which Don Sebastian, the king of Portugal, was defeated and slain. When the engagement commenced, the Moorish sovereign was dangerously ill, and obliged to be carried in a litter; he, nevertheless, gave his orders with great tranquillity and precision; and requested those near his person, if he died during the contest, that they should conceal his death from the troops till after the battle: he lived, however, to see victory incline in his favour, and expired before the engagement was entirely decided.

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He was succeeded by his brother Muley Hammed the first, who caused himself to be proclaimed amidst the trophies of Muley Moluch. A. D. 1595. The reign of this prince was prosperous and happy, and he was a lover and encourager of learning and learned men. His son Zidan, who ascended the throne on the demise of his father, was employed during the former part of his life, in quelling the turbulence and rebellion of his brothers. A. D. 1603. His latter years, however, were spent in tranquillity and peace. This prince was succeeded by his son Muley Abdalmelech, who became odious to his subjects, by his drunkenness, cruelty, and various other vices, and was assassinated by a Tartar Christian, whom he wished to make an eunuch. A. D. 1630. His brother and successor, Muley Elevali, was on the point of losing his eyes by the orders of the barbarous Abdalmelech, when he ascended the throne. This prince was of a mild and affable disposition, and procured the love and esteem of his subjects. He was succeeded by his brother, Muley Hammed the second, who being excessively addicted to women, passed most of his time in a state of indolence in his seraglio, and became universally despised by his subjects. The inactivity of the prince excited the Alarbes, or Arabs of the desert, who besieged him in his capital, and afterwards murdered him. A. D. 1634. A. D. 1646.

This people substituted in his stead their own king, Crumel Hack; but as he was not of the dynasty, he is not included among the legitimate successors. These latter retired to the

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A. D. 1650. kingdom of Tafilet, which was governed by one of them, named Muley Cherif, who being defeated in an engagement by Sidi Omar, the petty prince of Illech, was confined in a prison for a considerable time. In order, however, that he might not be entirely without company, Omar sent him a very ugly female negro, by whom he had two sons, Muley Archey and Muley Ismael.

The eldest of these children, Muley Archey, ascended the throne on the demise of his father, and became king of Tafilet. Having drunk to excess he fell from his horse, and fractured his scull, of which he died. He was succeeded by his brother, Muley Ismael, who resided as a private individual at Mequinez, which was then only a castle, situated in the most agreeable and most fertile part of Barbary, where, during the former part of his reign, he employed himself in agriculture and commerce. He became, however, afterwards, one of the most barbarous tyrants that ever disgraced a throne. He occupied his people in such a manner, that they might not have time for considering the oppression under which they suffered. "If I confine rats in a basket," said he, "they will break through and escape, unless I afford them employment." He loaded them, therefore, with taxes and labour, and contrived to keep their minds in continual suspense by new orders and cruel exactions. The ferocity of his disposition was only equalled by his avarice: he accumulated great sums, without being at any expence in maintaining his family and his troops.

A. D. 1672.

Not many years after his accession to the throne, having commanded his army to go and

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retake the city of Morocco, of which Muley Mahomet, one of his sons, had made himself master, the officers demanded the money due to them, "Ye Moorish dogs," replied Ismael, "do the mules, camels, and other animals of my empire ask any thing for their nourishment and support? They procure it themselves without importuning me; do you the same, and march with all speed." This was encouraging both officers and soldiers to plunder wherever they went; and they failed not to obey his instructions.

Muley Mahomet, against whom they were sent, and who had been compelled to revolt by the intrigues of a jealous step-mother, and the harsh usage of his father, had a formidable rival in his brother Zidan, who was the son of a female negro, named Lailah Ajakah, whose soul was equally black with her body. Muley being endowed with the most amiable qualities, was universally esteemed by the people; whilst his brother Zidan was exactly the reverse, and detested by every one. Ismael, for what reason is not known, sent these two sons to a distant town, where quarrelling and coming to blows, they were ordered to be brought before their father, who, not able to reconcile them, indulged in the singular pleasure of making them fight in his presence. At the earnest entreaty of the nobles, however, their scymitars were exchanged for cudgels; with which they fought with such fury, that they were soon covered with blood; and the death of Zidan seemed inevitable, when Ismael commanded them to cease. Mahomet not readily obeying the royal injunction, his father beat him with a stick; but in a few moments, his

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tenderness overcame his resentment, and, as a reparation for the injury, he conferred on him a government at his choice.

The preferment of Mahomet awakened the jealousy of Lailah, who considered him as the person intended to succeed to the throne. She, therefore, counterfeited the king's hand and seal, and ordered him to put to death a venerable Arabian governor, whom Ismael highly esteemed. The prince obeyed, and this action would certainly have cost him his life, had not he been able to prove the cause of his perpetrating the deed. The treacherous conduct of his mother-in-law induced Mahomet at length to rear the standard of rebellion; and the king sent against him his brother Zidan, who partly by force, partly by stratagem, took him prisoner.

On the first notice of his son's approach, Ismael, attended by two thousand horse, went forth to meet him. To add to the horror of the cavalcade, he was preceded by forty Christian slaves, bearing a large cauldron, one hundred weight of pitch, and the same quantity of tallow and oil. These were followed by six butchers with large knives in their hands, and a waggon loaded with wood. This horrid apparatus struck terror into the inhabitants of Mequinez, who had already seen punishments invented by Ismael. Mahomet's daughter, attended by a numerous company of ladies, who came to implore the king's clemency and pardon, sent forth the most lamentable cries. Even the black sultaness, dissembling her hatred, became an intercessor for the prince. Ismael, however, coolly replied, that his son would suffer no other punishment than that of having a little boiling oil poured on him.

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When the prince was brought before his father, he prostrated himself at the feet of the barbarian, and asked forgiveness. The king, however, fixing his eyes on the unfortunate Mahomet, placed the point of his lance against his breast, and remained silent for some time.

Ismael, however, considering that he was about to inflict a punishment too mild and lenient for the crimes which the prince had committed, commanded one of the butchers to mount the cart with him, and to place his arm on the rim of the cauldron, and to cut it off. The honest, but unhappy man, refused to comply with this injunction, and protested that he would rather lose his own life than shed the blood of the son of his prince. The king irritated with this refusal, immediately struck off his head, and gave orders to another to cut off one hand and one foot of the unfortunate Mahomet; which being instantly executed, the barbarous Ismael insultingly said to his son; "Ah! wretch, dost thou now know thy father?" Having pronounced these words, he drew his sword and dispatched the executioner. On which Mahomet could not forbear to observe: "Behold the bravery of my father! he kills him who executes, as well as him who disobeys, his orders." The arm and leg were then immersed in the melted pitch, in order to stop the effusion of blood; and the same day the prince was conducted to Mequinez. He entered the city on a mule, with his arm in a scarf, and his leg in a wooden box; but becoming frantic with this horrid treatment, he would not suffer his wounds to be dressed. He tore off the bandages; and a mortification ensuing, he died soon after.

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It is impossible to express the doleful cries and lamentations, which the news of this new kind of punishment occasioned in the palace, especially in the apartments of the women. To appease this agitation, the king threatened immediate death to all who should be heard to weep; and to show that he was in earnest, he ordered four of them, who were unable to restrain their emotions, to be strangled. Mahomet's daughter was the only person permitted to indulge in tears and lamentations. After relating these accounts of the conduct of Ismael, it is almost needless to add that he was a monster of cruelty. He, nevertheless, appeared to be a pious and devout mussulman, and was strict in performing the several duties of his religion; prayers, fasting, and ablutions. He was remarkably abstemious in the use of wine and strong liquors; and, therefore, none of his barbarous actions can be ascribed to intoxication. He never undertook any affair of importance without first prostrating himself a long time on the ground, and requesting light and assistance from God. What a contrast in the character of this prince!

Zidan, who had been the principal cause of Mahomet's ruin and death, became also suspected by his father, who endeavoured by every means in his power to entice him to court. The negress, his mother, likewise exerted herself for that purpose; but their stratagems and efforts were vain and ineffectual. The violence and intoxication of Zidan, however, rendering him dreaded and detested by his wives, who lived in a state of continual alarm, Ismael gained them over to his interest; and one day, while overpowered with wine, they smothered him in his bed.

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Zidan was no sooner dead than the tyrant conceived mistrust of his eldest son Abdelmelech, whom he endeavoured to persuade to reside near him; but not being able to effect this, he changed the order of succession in favour of Muley Debi, who was two years younger. Ismael died at a very advanced age. He seemed to reign chiefly by terror, which was always effectual. He sported with the lives of his subjects, and spared no one; and those esteemed themselves the most happy, who were not condemned to languish out a miserable existence amidst cruel torments. Ismael, however, was reckoned a great politician, and restored to the empire that splendour which had long been lost.

On the death of his father, Muley Debi, whom he had appointed his successor, ascended the throne; but proceeding to great excess of cruelty and debauchery, the people cursed Ismael for having chosen the most vicious of his sons. This general hatred was extremely favourable to Abdelmelech, who had taken up arms against his brother; and having conquered Muley Debi in an engagement, he took him prisoner, and would have put out his eyes, but was prevented by the militia. They considered him necessary to be preserved, in case they should dislike their new emperor. Though Abdelmelech was mild and patient under oppression, he no sooner acquired power than he became cruel and dissolute; and, being unable to secure the favour of the negroes, he was deposed, and the crown restored to Debi. This prince was no sooner reinstated on the throne, than he recommenced his debaucheries and cruelties, and died after ordering Abdelmelech to be strangled. A. D. 1727.

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On the demise of Muley Debi, his son was acknowledged emperor; but one of Ismael's widows managed her intrigues with so much address, that she caused Abdallah, whom she had born to that prince, to be placed on the throne. This prince soon discovered the cruel and tyrannical disposition, which he inherited from his father. Like a monster, he delighted to wallow in blood. He was twice deposed, and as often reinstated on the throne. During these vicissitudes of fortune, he was sometimes supported, and sometimes oppressed, by the corps of negroes, who were ready to sell their services to the most liberal and wealthy purchaser. One of his greatest enemies having been taken prisoner, and brought before him, Abdallah plunged a spear into his bosom, and asked for a cup that he might drink his blood. His prime minister stopped him, and said, "This action is beneath the dignity of your majesty; but what is unbecoming in a king, may be proper and allowable in a subject." Having spoke thus, he took the cup, and swallowed the contents. If we were ignorant of the true character of this prince, some idea of it might be formed from such a minister.

A. D. 1730.

Having taken Fez, which had been in a state of open rebellion, Abdallah massacred almost all the inhabitants of that city. His mother, in the utmost distress, remonstrated with him on account of these cruelties and excesses; but he only replied: "My subjects have no other right to their lives, than what I give them. With respect to myself, I have no greater pleasure than that of butchering them with my own hands." He had no other means left of avoiding their fu-

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ry, than by undertaking a pilgrimage to Mecca.

Since the reign of Abdallah, the empire of Morocco has been a continual subject of dispute to different competitors, who have been supported or oppressed by the corps of negroes. This militia, however, always elect the shariffs from princes of the royal blood; and cruelty and fanaticism are still prominent parts in the characters of their monarchs.

CHAPTER XIV.

Algiers.

ALGIERS was, soon after its conquest by the Arabs, divided into four principal provinces; and is bounded on the north by the Mediterranean; on the east by the river Zaine, which separates it from Tunis; on the south by the desert of Zaara; and on the west by the mountains of Trara, which part it from Morocco. Its extreme length is computed at four hundred and sixty, and its average breadth at about eighty miles. Algiers enjoys one of the happiest climates; and the ground is covered with a perpetual verdure.

The inhabitants who live on the sea-coast, are a strange mixture of various nations; but are chiefly the descendants of the Moors that were expelled out of Spain. Turks, Arabs, and Jews, are likewise pretty numerous, as well as European slaves; and there are also some few Christians, who remain free, and trade without molestation.

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The bulk of the inhabitants are Moors, who are divided into two classes; those who apply themselves to trade and agriculture, and those who adopt a wandering life, without either lands or patrimony. The first is by far the most respectable, and they sometimes amass great riches. The latter are subdivided into a vast number of tribes, distinguished by their chiefs or by the place of their residence. Each tribe forms a kind of itinerant village, or, as they term it, an adowar; every one of them pays the dey a certain tax proportioned to the number of its families, and for which the chief, who represents the whole community, is responsible.

These wandering Moors being scattered over a great part of Africa, it may not be improper to make some observations on their institutions, manners, and religion. The adowars are exceedingly filthy; and the furniture is of the meanest kind. A hand-mill, a pot to boil their rice, a few pitchers, and some mats, form the whole of their riches. Fathers, mothers, children, horses and asses, cows and goats, dogs, chickens, and cats, all lodge together. The *haik*, as it is called, is the general dress of the Moors; being a piece of coarse cloth wrapped about the shoulders, and descending to the ancles. The complexion of the women is rather swarthy, but they possess strength of constitution and vivacity of disposition; and, as they are early mature, and extremely prolific, they have frequently children at the age of nine or ten.

When the preliminaries of a matrimonial contract are concluded, the intended husband carries to the tent of the bride's father the present of cattle intended for him. It is an established

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form to ask him what his spouse costs him; to which he replies, "A virtuous and industrious wife is never purchased at too dear a rate." She is then carried to the bridegroom's tent, where she is presented with a bowl of milk and honey; while she drinks, their friends sing a nuptial song, which they conclude with expressions of their best wishes for the happiness of the new-married couple. A few more ceremonies being performed, the husband places his flocks before her, as a hint that he expects her to take the charge of his cattle and household affairs. The remainder of the day is spent in singing and dancing, and in the evening the company take their leave.

During the first month, the bride remains veiled, and is not suffered to quit the tent; but at the expiration of that period, she enters on the usual duties of her sex, which consist only of domestic affairs. All public concerns are reserved exclusively for the men; who would be despised by their wives, if they did not observe silence respecting them. These people are so much addicted to robbery, and to making reprisals on the other inhabitants, that it is dangerous to travel without a guard. "The country," say they, "belongs to us: it was usurped from us, and we are authorized to seize on every thing we can, since our masters have the cruelty and insensibility to leave us in this miserable and indigent condition."

The Algerines, indeed, themselves follow no other employment than that of exercising the same rapacity towards all nations. They certainly are the cruelest and most dangerous of all the African pirates. Though Algiers retains

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the title of kingdom, its government is entirely republican, being in the hands of the militia. Formerly the grand seignior sent thither pachas, who possessed all the authority of viceroys; but some of them impoverishing the people by exorbitant taxes, and refusing to pay the janissaries employed to keep the country in a state of dependence on Constantinople, they were put to death, and the office was abolished.

The civil government of Algiers is now conducted by the dey, and a council composed of thirty bashaws; at which also, on particular occasions, the great ecclesiastical officers are permitted to vote. The deys are elected out of the militia; and, as the meanest person among them has the same right to the sovereignty as the highest, every common soldier may be considered as a candidate for the throne. This singular privilege, however, which the military in common possess, tends to render the situation of the deys neither safe nor pleasant; each aspiring ruffian being ready to sheath his scymitar in the breast of his sovereign. Every person has a right to vote in the election of a dey; and, as there is generally a variety of candidates, tumults are very frequent, and the choice is often decided by the sword. After the dey is elected, he is saluted by the words *Alla Barek!* or God bless you! As soon as the grand seignior is informed of the choice that has been made, he sends the newly appointed dey a patent to act as viceroy; but when it arrives it is sometimes useless, the person for whom it was intended being no longer in existence. The deys seldom die possessed of the dignity; being generally assassi-

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nated, or obliged to abdicate the sovereignty, or to fly in order to preserve their lives.

Next in dignity to the dey is the aga, or general of the janissaries. This person is one of the oldest officers in the army, and retains his place only two months, when he is succeeded by the next in seniority. The keys of the metropolis are deposited in the hands of the acting aga, who issues out all the military orders. Next to him is the secretary of state, who registers all the public acts; and then the counsellors to the number of thirty, of whom the divan is composed. When they assemble, they all sit; except the inferior members invited thither, who are generally old soldiers, officers, veterans, and the governors of the three great provinces.

The manner in which business is transacted in this council, is extremely curious and singular. The aga as president proposes the subject of deliberation; which is immediately repeated with a loud voice by the chiah-bashaws, and from them re-echoed by four inferior officers; after which every member of the divan repeats it to his next neighbour, using at the same time strange contortions and gesticulations. When the matter is not approved, a hideous noise is heard from the opposition, which shews the aga to which side the majority inclines; and he thereupon proclaims the decision of the question. To prevent opposition, however, to his measures, the dey carefully suppresses all those whom he suspects of disaffection, and in general only convenes his most submissive and abject dependents.

A barbarous piece of policy has been commonly adopted after every fresh election of a dey; the successful candidate ordering every

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member of the divan who opposed him to be strangled, and filling up the vacancies with the minions of his pleasure.

In all records of state, the Turkish language is used; that of the natives is a mixture of Arabic, Moorish, and their ancient tongue, supposed to be the Phœnician. In their commerce with other nations, however, the lingua Franca, a jargon composed of Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, and French, is in general use, and is employed throughout all the Levant. The Algerines, who possess the strongest naval force of any nation on the Barbary coast, have seldom more than twenty ships of war.

The religion prevalent in this kingdom differs very little from that professed by the Turks, except that the Algerines are more superstitious, and less exact in their practice. They have three principal officers, that preside in all religious matters: the *mufti*, or high priest; the *cadi*, or chief judge in all civil and ecclesiastical causes; and the grand *marabou*, or principal of the marabites, who is a kind of hermit without jurisdiction, but possessing great influence in the state. These three officers have seats in the divan, on the right of the dey; and they attach great merit to fasting and ablutions, which they consider as the most effectual means for effacing sins.

They deem it a defilement to carry the Koran below the girdle; to let a drop of urine fall on their clothes; to use a pen, instead of a pencil; to have any printed books, or any representations whatever of men and animals; to make use of bells; to permit Christians, especially those who are women, to enter their mosques; to exchange a Turk for a Christian; to touch money; to en-

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gage in any occupation, and even to dress a wound, before they have repeated their morning prayers; and to strike the earth with their foot when playing at tennis; to eat snails, which they esteem sacred; to chastise their children on any other part than on the soles of their feet; and to shut their bed-chamber in the night. All this is truly ridiculous; as well as the regard they pay to madmen, idiots, and lunatics, whom they consider as saints, and the favourites of God. But the most horrid and detestable trait of their character is, that they extol unnatural love as a virtue, and to which they are in general addicted.

Long dresses, which have a resemblance to one another, are peculiar both to men and women. The latter use veils so transparent, that they can see through them, and enjoy some liberty. The dey alone and the principal officers of the state are allowed the privilege of riding on horseback through the town; all other persons must either be satisfied with appearing upon asses, or walk on foot.

The grand seignior receives no other revenue from the dey, than a stipulated number of handsome youths, and some other annual presents. Many of the punishments inflicted in this country are extremely barbarous; and the slightest, which is the bastinado, though not considered as capital, is frequently attended with death. They expiate murder by impalement; or by suspending the criminal by the neck from the battlements of the city; or by extending him on hooks, where the wretched victim of justice writhes in inexpressible agonies, often for more than a day, before he expires. If a Moor be

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convicted of robbery, his right hand is cut off; which is suspended from his neck, while he rides round the city on an ass, with his face towards the tail. If any Jew or Christian be convicted of ridiculing Mahomet or his religion, he must immediately adopt his doctrines, or suffer the most exquisite tortures that barbarity can invent. Sawing asunder is still retained among those final punishments inflicted on persons who subject themselves to the resentment of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

Scarcely a vestige remains of the various arts and sciences which once flourished in this country. The natives, however, are by no means deficient in mental abilities, and were they not shackled by their government and religion, it is probable that their improvements would equal those of Europeans. The Moors and Turks send their sons at an early period to school; but their masters can only teach them a little writing, which is performed with chalk on a board; and if they can read fluently in the Koran, they are supposed to have attained an uncommon degree of proficiency.

Owing to their predestinarian principles, the study of medicine is much neglected; and nature is suffered to contend with the morbific affections of the patient, the principal remedies being charms and incantations.

Nothing can be so insolent as the militia, or janissaries, who have engrossed to themselves the whole power and management of the kingdom; styling themselves *effendi*, or nobles, though most of them are men of the lowest extraction and the meanest characters. If one of these Turkish soldiers be met in the streets, care is always taken

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to make way for him, otherwise he will make way for himself. But though the Turks are so proud and haughty, they are the most avaricious people in the world; and will not scruple to perform the most abject and servile offices, to obtain money. It is, therefore, a common proverb at Algiers, "If you give a Turk money with one hand, he will suffer you to pluck out his eyes with the other."

The deys, however, after they have been exalted to their dignity, generally disdain the meanness of wishing to disguise their humble extraction; on the contrary, one of them, disputing with the deputy-consul of a neighbouring state, is said to have thus frankly acknowledged his origin: "My mother sold sheep's trotters, and my father neats' tongues; but they would have been ashamed to have exposed to sale so worthless a tongue as thine."

Notwithstanding the piratical disposition of the Algerines, and the contempt in which they hold the opponents of Mahomet, there are several free Christians and Jews in this kingdom, who follow their respective employments without molestation. A few Spaniards, however, who have taken up their residence in Algiers, are the principal conductors of the European trade. The natives manufacture carpets not much inferior to those of Turkey, velvet, taffeties, and other wrought silks, together with linen cloth, of which Susa produces the finest. These several articles are chiefly for home consumption; and few commodities are exported, besides ostrich feathers, wax, hides, wool, copper, and dates.

The Algerines generally make use of foreign coins, though they have several of their own;

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among which is the barba, made of copper; the asper, a small square piece of silver, fifteen of which are equivalent to a Spanish rial, and twenty-four to a dapta, being nearly worth a crown; together with the rupee, the median, and dian, all of gold, which being the royal coins of the kings of Tremesen, are still coined in that province.

This kingdom has undergone a variety of divisions, according to the will of the people who successively conquered and governed it. After the deys, however, became so powerful, they separated it into three governments; the east, west, and south; under which division it is generally known. The eastern district is the most considerable, not only on account of its wealth and extent, but also of the number and magnificence of its cities. It contains many ancient towns, in which may still be seen the remains of monuments that attest their former celebrity, without reckoning those that exhibit nothing but remains. Among the latter is Bona, supposed to be the ancient Hippo, which disputes with Constantinople the title of capital. This government is in the vicinity of the desert. The inhabitants greatly value their independence, which they have preserved by forfeiting their wealth. They are, in general, a haughty and warlike race of people.

The western also disputes with the eastern government, the melancholy honour of being covered with superb ruins. The capital of this district, for a long space of time, was Oran, which the Spaniards conquered, lost, and retook, and of which they are at present in possession.

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The southern government is altogether without cities, as the Arabs, by whom it is inhabited, all live under tents, and are divided into hordes, each of which forms a kind of itinerant village, governed by its respective chief. They are subjects on whom little or no dependence can be placed. They ought to pay a kind of tribute to Algiers; but when the dey endeavours to exact the contributions, they bury their corn and most valuable effects into places which are known only to themselves, and fly to the deserts or inaccessible retreats, where they are safe from all pursuit.

Algiers, which is the capital of the whole kingdom, forms a sort of an amphitheatre, presents a most beautiful view, and is washed on the north and north-east by the Mediterranean sea. This city, which is said to contain one hundred thousand Mahometan and fifteen thousand Jewish inhabitants, is erected on the declivity of a hill, on which the houses rise in regular gradation, and almost every one of them commands a delightful prospect of the sea. The walls of the city are about thirty feet high on the ascent, but towards the sea they are not less than forty, and twelve feet thick, flanked with square towers, which, however, are much decayed. There are six gates, all of which are properly fortified and secured. The citadel, which is of an octagonal form, having portholes and embrasures in view, is erected on the most elevated ground within the walls. On the west, the whole city is overlooked by a ridge of high hills, upon which are erected two forts that command a considerable part of the bay

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and the river Rebar; but the strongest fortifications lie next the sea.

In this city is only one spacious street, which extends from east to west, but is of unequal width, though broader and more airy than any of the others. Throughout the rest of the town, the streets are so narrow, that two people can scarcely walk abreast; a circumstance which, added to their extreme filthiness, renders them exceedingly unpleasant; especially as there are beasts of burden continually passing and repassing, to which it is absolutely necessary to give way at the first, under no less a risque than that of being trodden under foot, or squeezed to death.

In the centre of the city stands the dey's palace, which is a very magnificent edifice; the front, facing the interior court, is surrounded with two superb galleries, that are supported by marble pillars; and there are two spacious halls, in which the divan assembles every Sunday, Monday, and Wednesday.

The houses in Algiers have terraces, upon which the inhabitants pay visits, and by means of which they can go from one end of the town to the other, as there are ladders for ascending or descending, where they are not equal in height. But, notwithstanding the facility of passing from one house to another, there are no thieves in this city; for if a stranger be caught in any of them, he is punished with death. Near the sea-side is a great number of mosques, which are elegant structures, and contribute greatly to the beautiful appearance of the place. Some of the baths, also, are extremely handsome: the Turks

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resort to them, not only before the five daily prayers, but whenever they are not engaged in any business which prevents them. The women have particular baths, which are attended by persons of their own sex, where the men are precluded from entering on any pretext whatever.

There is likewise a species of buildings denominated basos, in which the wretched European slaves are every night immured. In each of these they have a chapel for the free exercise of their religion; every slave receiving a small pittance of bread, and being furnished with a mattrass and rug on which to sleep. At an appointed hour in the evening, they repair to these dormitories, where they continue till their brutal and unfeeling masters awake them to fresh scenes of labour and of misery. Till the last century, the city of Algiers had no other supply of fresh water than the rain which was preserved in cisterns; when a Moor, who had been expelled out of Spain, having acquired some proficiency in science, by his acquaintance with Europeans, conducted from the neighbouring mountains two aqueducts, which afforded a sufficient quantity of water to fill a hundred fountains in different parts of the town.

The soil in the neighbourhood of Algiers is extremely fertile; and the country is beautifully diversified with hills, vallies, gardens, groves, and neat little villas, where the more opulent of the people spend their summer retreat. These villas, as well as all the houses in the city, being white, and beautifully shaded with a number of fruit-trees and ever-greens, furnish a most delightful prospect, which no repetition can cloy,

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or render unpleasing. The habitations of the European consuls, in particular, are finely ornamented with the choicest and most beautiful trees, which are kept properly pruned (a neglect very prevalent among the natives,) and produce a great abundance of most delicious fruits.

In the general history of Africa, we have seen that the Greeks, the Romans, the Vandals, and the Arabs, were the successive conquerors and possessors of all this coast. The tribes of the last mentioned people divided the country between themselves, and formed different petty states, among which there were some free and independent cities. By this means, the kingdom of Algiers was partitioned into four sovereignties; Tenez, Algiers Proper, Bugeya, and Tremuen. The princes assumed the title of kings; and continued for some centuries in mutual peace and amity with one another. But at length they began to disagree among themselves, and the king of Tenez made himself master of Bugeya and Tremuen. Algiers Propar in the mean time had become a place of considerable celebrity, by the asylum it afforded to the Moors, who had been expelled out of the maritime provinces of Spain. These exiles, rendered desperate by their expulsion, and being well acquainted with the Spanish coast, issued from this retreat, and endeavoured to compensate the losses they had sustained, by piracy at sea, and by predatory incursions on shore.

A. D. 1505. To suppress these ravages, Ferdinand the fifth, king of Arragon, sent a powerful fleet and army under the command of the Count of Navarre, who made an irruption into Africa, took the important city of Oran, and

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laid siege to Algiers, which was the principal haunt of these pirates. In this difficulty the Algerines invited to their assistance Selim Eutemi, a warlike Arabian prince, that possessed the neighbouring territory, and put themselves under his protection and government. But, notwithstanding his efforts, the Spaniards carried on the siege with vigour, and at length Algiers was compelled to capitulate, and to become tributary to Spain; nor could Selim prevent them from erecting a strong fort on a small island opposite to the city, which they supplied with a garrison and a numerous train of artillery.

The Algerines were obliged to submit to this galling yoke till the death of Ferdinand; of which event they were no sooner apprised, than they determined to make every effort for regaining their liberty. With the consent and advice of Eutemy, they sent a deputation to the famous corsair Barbarossa, who had rendered himself formidable at sea from the age of thirteen; requesting him to come and deliver them from the Spanish yoke, and promising a gratuity equal to his services. Barbarossa, highly gratified by this invitation, which offered him a fixed residence with a good port, of both of which he was then destitute, readily accepted the proposal. He arrived, therefore, with his brother Hairadin; but did not communicate his real design to the Algerines, and appeared only in quality of auxiliary and ally.

On his arrival in the neighbourhood of Algiers, all the people of the city, with prince Eutemy at their head, went out to meet this illustrious warrior, whom they considered as their

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deliverer, and conducted into that metropolis, with the greatest splendour, and amidst the acclamations of the populace. He was received with every mark of distinction, and all ranks were anxious to provide accommodations for his troops. He himself was lodged in one of the most splendid apartments in the palace of the Arabian prince; whilst his forces were treated with such uncommon generosity, that he began to procure the necessary information, and to concert measures, for executing the treacherous design of enslaving the Algerines and of making himself king of Algiers. He communicated his plan to the chief officers of his council, from whom he exacted a solemn oath of secrecy, and who applauded his intention, and promised to assist him with all their abilities.

In the mean time, the better to deceive the Algerines, he caused a battery to be erected opposite to the Spanish fortress, which he bombarded for a month without producing any visible effect. On this occasion, however, he acted with such despotic authority as never to consult the Arabian prince relative to any measures he intended to pursue; and the soldiers conducted themselves with such insolence and brutality, that the natives no longer doubted of his designs, and complained loudly of his perfidy and breach of faith. Barbarossa, fearing that they might endeavour to counteract his intentions, resolved to put Eutemy to death, and to have himself instantly proclaimed by his troops, king of Algiers.

Being lodged in the prince's palace, he had an opportunity of concerting proper measures for the destruction of the Arabian chief. Having

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observed that Eutemy was accustomed to repair to the bath every day at noon before prayers, Barbarossa surprised him there in a naked and defenceless condition, and having strangled him with a napkin, immediately withdrew, without being observed by any person. He soon after returned, accompanied by a considerable retinue, as if for the purpose of bathing; and expressed equal surprise and affliction, on seeing the murdered prince. Though the inhabitants suspected Barbarossa as the cause of this tragical occurrence, they had been so cruelly treated by the soldiers, that they dared not complain of the outrage. On the contrary, fearing that the slaughter would be universal, many of the natives abandoned their city and country, and sought an asylum in the neighbouring states; whilst others shut themselves up in their houses, and left the Turks in possession of all their property. This desertion and dispirited conduct opened an easy access to the vacant throne, which Barbarossa ascended at the request of his followers, without experiencing the least opposition from the Algerines. He was accordingly proclaimed in the city with great splendour; and rode through the streets on horseback, attended by his Turks and Moors, who cried, "Long live Barbarossa, the invincible king of Algiers, chosen by God to deliver the people from the oppression of the Christians, and to devote all those to destruction that shall oppose or disobey him, their lawful sovereign."

The tyrant was then accompanied to the palace, where, seated under a stately canopy, he received the congratulations of the Turks; and dispersed his troops through every part of the

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city, to invite the Algerines to come and swear allegiance to their new monarch, with assurances that those who complied should be treated with particular regard, and entitled to the favour of the king. Accordingly many did obeisance to him as their sovereign, signed the instrument of his coronation, and were dismissed with marks of esteem. Barbarossa, however, reigned rather by the terror he inspired, than by the affection and regard of the people. He suffered his avarice and ambition to hurry him beyond the bounds of prudence; a circumstance that had nearly proved fatal to his interest. The Algerines became exasperated by his cruelty, and the insolence and brutality of his soldiers; by his rapacious exactions he alienated the affections of the warlike Arabs, whose esteem he had been at great pains to conciliate; and he disbanded a great part of his Moorish troops, who returned in discontent to the province from whence they had been principally raised.

The Algerine chieftains, apprised of these circumstances, found means to send deputies to the Arabians, to exhort them to abolish the Turkish tyranny, to revenge the murder of their prince Eutemy, and to restore his son to the throne and dominions of his father. They also carried on a secret correspondence with the Spanish governor, and it was agreed to assassinate Barbarossa and the Turks, and to put themselves under the protection and government of Spain. The day was appointed for executing this important project, when it was resolved that the Algerines should bring their fruits and herbs to the market as usual, and conceal arms under their gowns. But the persons engaged in this design were

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too numerous to prevent its being divulged to Barbarossa, who was extremely vigilant and attentive, and soon discovered the whole matter. Most of the Algerine chiefs, who had been concerned in the conspiracy, were put to death, and their estates confiscated, and the rest had a heavy fine imposed on them. This punishment so terrified the natives, that they never afterwards attempted any thing against him or his successors.

But though Barbarossa was thus freed from domestic, he was assailed by foreign enemies. The Spaniards sent against Algiers a numerous and powerful fleet, with ten thousand land forces on board, intended to expel the Turks out of that city, and to restore the son of Eutemy to the throne of his father. This armament, however had no sooner arrived in sight of the place of its destination, than it was attacked by a storm, and driven against the rocks, and almost every soul on board perished. This disaster tended to confirm Barbarossa in his usurpation, and contributed to increase his pride and insolence to such a degree, that he became more cruel and oppressive towards the inhabitants of both the city and country. Several tribes of Arabians were so much alarmed at his exorbitant power and tyrannical conduct, that they entered into an alliance with the king of Tenez, who marched a body of forces into the dominions of Algiers. This numerous army, however, was totally defeated by Barbarossa, who pursued the fugitive and unfortunate prince to the very gates of his capital, of which he made himself master, and obliged the inhabitants to acknowledge him as their sovereign.

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Not long after, he conquered the kingdom of Tremuen; but the Spaniards uniting with the Arabs in reinstating the prince on his throne, Barbarossa was attacked by a numerous and powerful army; and though the Turks fought with great valour and intrepidity, they were defeated by the enemy, and all cut to pieces. Thus fell Barbarossa in the forty-fourth year of his age. He raised his kingdom to a degree of splendour, which it had never before known, and caused himself to be acknowledged as sovereign of Algiers by many foreign as well as neighbouring nations. His troops were principally composed of Turkish soldiers; and it was chiefly under the banners of the crescent that he had distinguished himself in his maritime exploits. He preserved his independence; but, at the same time, kept up an intimate connection with the Porte; whither he sent presents, and from whence he obtained recruits. In short, he gave to the kingdom of Algiers almost the whole of that power and extent, which it possesses at present.

A. D. 1517.

Barbarossa was succeeded by his brother Hairadin, who having held the reins of government about two years, dreaded an immediate and universal insurrection among the people. The more effectually, therefore, to secure himself in the kingdom, he applied to Selim the first, emperor of Constantinople, and offered to submit himself and his dominions to that prince, and to pay him an annual tribute, provided the grand seignior would assist him with a sufficient number of forces for maintaining him in his station. Selim, who by the conquest of Egypt had abolished the usurpation of the Mamelukes, was

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highly pleased with the proposal, received Hairadin under his protection, and appointed him bashaw or viceroy over the kingdom of Algiers. In a little time also he sent a body of ten thousand janissaries, that enabled Hairadin to become absolute master both of the Arabs and Moors, who were obliged to submit to the most abject slavery, without daring to utter the least complaint against his government. He increased daily in power and wealth by the number of his corsairs, and their successful depredations at sea. The Porte also sent him every year a constant supply of recruits, with money for the payment of his troops; and in a little time Algiers became a formidable kingdom.

In this manner was this state reduced under the dominion of the Turkish empire; but we have already had occasion to observe, that, in the course of time, the authority of the Ottoman court declined in that kingdom. Its influence was first greatly contracted in regard to the nomination of the dey; and, at length, was left only in the possession of honouring him with a patent, which it could not refuse. The grand seignior constantly kept a pacha, who was considered as the successor of Barbarossa and his descendants; but, at length, the office of pacha entirely disappeared, being eclipsed by that of dey. At present, Algiers is a power absolutely sovereign and independent, and is rather allied than subject to the Turks. It keeps up with the grand seignior a connexion only of decency and respect, founded on an identity of religion.

Since the foundation of this kingdom by the two Barbarossas, the events which have occurred in Algiers are nothing else than the jea-

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lousies and intrigues of the principal men, in order to ruin and supplant one another; consisting of acts of cruelty, depositions, and other catastrophes of a similar nature. If we should attempt to delineate a picture of them, an uninterrupted series of the most horrid acts of tyranny and brutality would be exhibited to view. Nothing would be seen but massacres among the rich and powerful; wretchedness and oppression among the poor; with instances innumerable of the most inhuman vengeance and cruelty against the relatives and partisans of the princes assassinated. Confiscations, imprisonment, and persecution, are extremely frequent; and often at the end of a month, and even of a week, the reigning prince has suffered a fate similar to that of his predecessor, and exchanged his throne for a prison or a grave; insomuch that a new revolution has often brought back the same scenes of madness and of cruelty. Such, added to the piratical expeditions at sea, would form the principal part of the history of each prince's reign.

With respect to these expeditions, all Europe and the world may rest assured, that these pirates will never cease their depredations, so long as they are permitted to exist. To the injury and disgrace of all Christian powers, they suffered them to establish themselves, and to become emboldened by success, and now find them formidable to all European nations, who are compelled to purchase an exemption from their ravages, and are, in effect, tributary to this piratical state. These acts of violence are now become natural to them. It was not without truth, that one of the deys humorously said,

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"The Algerines are robbers; and I am their captain-general." Those, therefore, who navigate the seas, must expect to be exposed to their attacks. If they be reproached for this shameful piracy, they only answer by the following proverb: "They who are afraid of the sparrows ought never to sow."

The French are the only nation in Europe, that have found means to humble this imperious republic. In 1683, Admiral Du Quesne attacked the city of Algiers, into which a great number of bombs were thrown that made dreadful execution, burning and destroying the dey's palace, the mosques, and other public edifices. On this the Algerines begged for peace, and promised to respect the French flag and coasts. They did not, however, keep their words; but it is matter of astonishment and regret, that the European powers should have tolerated their excesses and depredations for so long a period.

CHAPTER XV.

Tunis.

TUNIS, which was once a sovereignty of great extent, is at present bounded on the north and east by the Mediterranean sea; on the west by Algiers; on the south, by Tripoli and part of Biledulgerid: and extends from thirty-three degrees thirty minutes, to thirty-seven degrees twelve minutes of north latitude,

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and is about two hundred and twenty miles in length, and one hundred and seventy in breadth. This country is divided into two parts, denominated the summer and winter circuits; which the bey annually traverses at those seasons, with a sort of flying camp. The principal rivers are the Zaine, which separates Tunis from Algiers; the Megerda, or ancient Bagrada; the Miliana, supposed to be the Catada of antiquity; and the Gabbs, thought to be the Triton.

The air of Tunis is salubrious, and its soil fertile, except towards the south, where barren deserts, and moving hills of sand, occupy a large extent, and where the heat is extreme. During the dog-days, the winds which pass over this country are excessively hot and suffocating: and the natives are under the necessity of sprinkling their floors with water, and using other refreshing expedients.

Before enumerating the cities, that are now most distinguished in this country, we shall pay a short and melancholy tribute to those which were formerly the admiration of the world; and of which it would be difficult to fix the scite, did not the page of antiquity aid our researches; and surely nothing can furnish the contemplative mind with more rational improvement, than a view of the ruins and desolation that every where abounds! When he beholds the solitary arch, or sublime portico, whither history informs him the great names of antiquity have resorted, and where a succession of various nations have given law, what must be his reflections, or the feelings of his mind? Does not every mouldering column, every venerable pile of ruins, read the

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most instructive and important lessons on the weakness, the vanity, and the instability of every thing human? Does not the melancholy reflection on the many thousands that sleep below, who once enlivened the arts, or graced the triumphant car, imprint on the tablets of our hearts "what shadows we are, and what shadows we pursue."

Carthage, once the celebrated rival of Rome, has scarcely withstood the ravages of time. Its ancient harbour is nearly choaked up by the mud thrown up by the river Megerda; and the ruins of the city are nearly three miles from the sea, though it formerly extended to the very shore. The ancient Utica has suffered still more from the desolating hand of time, than even Carthage; and, owing to the recession of the sea, and the conflux of mud, its situation cannot be determined with accuracy and precision. To the east of Carthage lies the Aquilaria of the ancients, where Curio landed the troops who were cut to pieces by Sabura. The amphitheatre of Jemme, the Tristra of Cæsar, is another piece of antiquity.

Tunis, the ancient Tunes, and the present capital of this kingdom, is neither remarkable for the number of its inhabitants, nor for its public or private edifices; and in these respects is much inferior to Algiers. It is greatly in want of good water; but excepting this disadvantage, no place abounds more in all the necessary articles of life. The city has five gates, none of which are distinguished for their beauty. The houses, in general, are only one story in height, with flat roofs. The bey's palace, which is the most magnificent edifice in the city, contains

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four superb gates, one in each front, with a lofty turret at every angle. The courts are spacious, the galleries profusely ornamented, and the different apartments very splendid. In Tunis are several colleges and schools, in which the doctors of the laws, and other literati, are maintained. The principal fortification is the castle, which being situated upon an eminence, commands the whole place, and has a grand appearance.

The other cities of note are Bizerta, near which is supposed to be the Sinus Hipponensis of the ancients; Nable, the Colonia Neapolis of Ptolemy; Cairwan, the Vico Augusti of antiquity; Beja, the Vecca of Sallust; and Gassa, anciently denominated Capsa.

Tunis resembles Algiers, in that it exhibits the same religion, the same government, the same manners, and the same events, which transferred it from the hands of the Arabs into those of the Turks; weakened the authority of the latter, and at length brought it to such a state of debility, as to be able to nominate and appoint its own masters, under the title of *beys*, but without entirely rejecting the Turkish influence. Till the commencement of the present century, the grand seignior appointed deys to the government of Tunis; but they were very different from those of Algiers, being representatives without power or authority. By the assistance of a militia, composed of Moors, Arabs, and, above all, renegadoes, the beys rendered themselves completely absolute and independent. The grand seignior no longer sends a dey to Tunis. The divan being chiefly composed of friends and creatures of the bey, seems rather assembled for

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the purpose of giving its approbation to his resolutions, than for consulting on the justice and expediency of any measure; and he is entirely independent of the Porte.

But though we have said that the Tunisians greatly resemble the Algerines, they are agreeably distinguished from them by their superior politeness and civilization, and by their being exempted from that pride, insolence and barbarity, for which the natives of this coast are justly stigmatized. They are affable in their manners, friendly and obliging to strangers, and faithful to their compacts. The extension of commerce, the improvement of manufactures, and the friendships they have formed with the European powers, have no doubt contributed to this happy effect on their minds; and as these circumstances tend to extirpate narrow and confined ideas, they by no means treat Christians with contempt; on the contrary, they allow them that justice, which in vain is expected from their neighbours. Though they keep some Christian slaves, and are not entirely free from that depredatory spirit, which characterizes the inhabitants of the Barbary coast, they treat the captives with a considerable share of lenity and indulgence; and the representations of the European consuls, in their favour, are always heard with candour and attention, and acceded to with the greatest readiness and alacrity.

In England, where female beauty abounds, the Tunisian women in general would be reckoned handsome, and their offspring are born with the finest complexions, that can possibly be conceived. The boys, however, are soon tinged

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with a swarthy complexion, by the heat of the sun; but the girls, who are retained at home, preserve their native beauty till they are past child-bearing, which is usually about the age of thirty. The Tunisian women are frequently mothers at eleven; and as their longevity is nearly proportioned to that of Europeans, they frequently live to see several generations of their children.

The dress of both sexes, though nearly of the same form as that of the Algerines, is considerably neater, and more genteel. When they see company, or go abroad, they wear drawers; but when at home, they sometimes only bind a piece of linen round their waist. The females are extremely fond of having long hair, which they collect together, and plait with ribbands; and when nature does not seem to have been sufficiently liberal in this respect, like the fair of more polished countries, they add to the natural stock by borrowed ornaments. Over the hair thus decorated, they closely tie the corners of a triangular piece of needle-work. Ladies of superior rank wear a head-dress of the same figure, which is composed of thin plates of gold or silver cut through and engraved in imitation of lace. Their dress is rendered complete, by having a fine handkerchief, bound close over this ornament, and falling negligently down on the collected hair. Their eye-lashes, and the edges of their eye-lids, are tinged with pulverized lead-ore. This operation is performed by dipping a wooden bodkin into the powder, and drawing it under the eye-lid. It communicates a sable hue, which is considered by the Tunisians as becoming every complexion, and constituting the per-

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fection of beauty. The antiquity of this custom has been proved by an ingenious and learned divine, from the sacred scriptures; which expressly mention, according to the Hebrew version, that "Jezebel decorated her eyes with the powder of lead-ore."

Jealousy, which appears to be endemial in Barbary, prevails less at Tunis than perhaps in any other state, which we have described in this part of the globe. As their religion obliges them to frequent ablutions, the baths are much resorted to, particularly by the ladies, who, in their washings, make great use of odoriferous gums, and rich perfumes.

The taverns are under much better regulations than those in the neighbouring countries; and even a Turk, who is guilty of intoxication, and behaves himself insolently, may be deprived of his turban till he has made satisfaction. They sell only white wine, which is produced in great plenty in the surrounding country, and is extremely cheap and good. Provisions are so plentiful, that the purchaser of a single quart of wine at a tavern, has two or three dishes of fish or flesh placed before him. Though the natives do not abstain entirely from wine, very few drink it to an excess; but they are very fond of a compounded drug called *harix*, which inspires them with a dauntless resolution, and exhilarates the spirits, and seems possessed of nearly the same qualities as opium.

As the religion of the Tunisians obliges them to attend public devotion by break of day, they are very early risers. After performing their morning prayers, they follow their respective employments till afternoon, when they again re-

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pair to the mosques, and the business of the day ceases. The Arabs can only be roused by the most pressing necessity to diligence or attention in trade and agriculture; their lives being one continual round of indolence and amusement. To hunt the lions and other wild animals constitutes a favourite diversion; and the inhabitants of a whole district will frequently assemble for this purpose. On these occasions they form a circle of several miles in circumference, which is gradually contracted, till the animals are driven into the centre, where they are immediately dispatched. The ancient diversion of hawking is still practised in this country, which affords great variety of hawks and falcons.

If we observe the manners and customs of these people, we shall perceive that, in a very eminent degree, they partake of the simplicity of the first ages; and if we except the article of religion, we shall find that the Arabs in this state, appear exactly to answer the character and description given of them two thousand years ago. Their common mode of salutation is, "Peace be unto thee!" and when inferiors pay their respects to their superiors, they kiss their feet, knees or garments; which is also the manner in which children express their deference and duty to parents and relatives. In their hospitality to strangers, they revive the remembrance of the patriarchal customs; and the greatest prince will not disdain to fetch a lamb from his flock, which is prepared and dressed for the "way-faring man," by the royal consort herself. It is customary for the host to wash the feet of his guests, and to wait on them during the entertainment with officious kindness. But,

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notwithstanding this apparent simplicity and benevolence, instances have occurred, in which the host has made free with the property of the unsuspicious traveller, on whom he had so obsequiously attended.

In the habitation of a person of quality, benches may be perceived at the porch or gateway, where the owner receives the visits of his friends and transacts business. Few persons, even of the nearest relatives, are admitted into the interior parts of the house, except on extraordinary occasions. Every city or village has a piece of ground allotted for sepulture, in which every family of distinction has a particular cemetery inclosed with a wall, where they deposit the bodies in separate graves, with stones at the head and feet of each, and either plant the intermediate space with flowers, or cover it with tiles. Persons of quality generally have a square room, with a handsome cupola, erected over their graves. This being kept constantly white and clean, illustrates the expression of Christ, where he compares hypocrites to whited sepulchres, which appear outwardly beautiful, but within are full of dead men's bones and all uncleanness.

It is not easy to ascertain the amount of the revenues of the beys of Tunis; as they arise from annual tributes paid by the Moors and Arabs, who often evade them; and from duties on imports and exports, which are in a constant state of fluctuation. The forces of this country consist of renegadoes and a few militia, who are well paid and properly disciplined, and who are kept in garrisons and sea-ports; there being no janissaries here as at Algiers. The

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beys, however, upon emergencies, can command a numerous army of Moors and Arabs, but little dependence is to be placed on their fidelity. The naval strength of Tunis is very inconsiderable, and much inferior to what might be expected from a commercial and maritime nation. There are seldom more than four ships belonging to government, the largest of which do not carry more than forty guns, and all of them are badly equipped for service. These, with thirty galliots, commanded by renegadoes, compose the whole naval force of the beys. Other vessels, however, are fitted out by private adventurers, who allow certain perquisites to the bey on all captures.

Though the duties on anchorage, and loading and unloading goods, in this kingdom, are excessively high, a considerable trade is carried on between the Tunisians, and several European nations. This country exports to France corn, oil, beans, wax, hides, and Morocco leather; and receives in exchange Languedoc cloths, iron, steel, hardware, paper, brandy, sugar, and spices. In the management of the Italian trade, Jews are principally concerned, who export the same commodities as those sent to France, and import damasks, gold and silver tissue, with several sorts of silks and woollen stuffs. To the Levant, the Moors and Turks export gold dust, bales of caps, and lead; and receive in return silks, calicoes, iron, alum, and vermilion. Into Egypt they carry the same kind of goods, which are exchanged for rice, linen, flax, cotton, and coffee. The commerce between England and Tunis is uncertain, and seems little attended to.

All public treaties are written in the Arabic language; which, however, has lost much of its

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original beauty and energy. The great number of renegadoes from Spain, France, and Italy, who are encouraged for disclaiming Christianity, and admired for their superior abilities, have rendered their respective languages very familiar in this country; but the Lingua Franca is principally used in commercial transactions with foreign nations.

The punishments inflicted on criminals are nearly similar to those practised in Algiers; but superstition has taught them the most dreadful tortures relative to such renegadoes as return to Christianity. These are either inclosed in a cloth dipped in melted pitch, and afterwards set on fire; or being wholly covered, except the face and head, those parts are anointed with honey, which exposes them to a miserable and lingering death from the stings of wasps and other insects.

This country was scarcely recovered from its subjection to the Romans and northern Vandals, when, with the rest of Barbary, it was once more reduced under the power of the Saracens, who governed it by viceroys, and established that form of administration, which continued almost five hundred years. One of these revolting, made himself master of Tunis, assumed the title of king of Africa; and from that period the capital of this kingdom vied with the most splendid cities on this continent. At length Hassan, an Arabian prince, besieged this metropolis, took it, and afterwards subdued the whole kingdom. He had not been long settled on the throne, and declared successor to the former monarch, before Mamon, his elder brother, who was kept a prisoner, made some strenuous efforts

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to regain his liberty, and claim his right to the crown. Mamon, however, was discovered before he effected his escape, and put to death; but a younger brother named Arashid, fled to Buchara in Numidia, where he was kindly received. Having raised an army of Arabs, he attacked and defeated Hassan, whom he compelled to take refuge in the city of Tunis; but not having a sufficient train of artillery, he could not undertake the siege of the town. Arashid, therefore, having set fire to the suburbs, retreated with his troops, and implored the assistance of Barbarossa.

The latter promised to comply with his request, and conducted him to Constantinople, under pretence of procuring farther aid for him from the Porte; and it is not to be doubted but he would have obtained a numerous and powerful body of forces, had not Barbarossa traitorously insinuated, that if the troops, destined for the prince, whom he affected to befriend, were placed under his command, as soon as he should make himself master of Tunis, he would render homage to the grand seignior, and hold the reins of government in that kingdom as his deputy and representative. This proposal was too flattering to be rejected by the emperor, who sent Babarossa with a strong armament against Tunis, and detained the unfortunate Arashid prisoner at Constantinople. The fleet no sooner appeared on the Barbary coast, than Hassan, who apprehended that the Tunisians would revolt against him, retired with some Arabs to a fortified castle. In the mean time, the city was full of tumult, and the inhabitants were extremely desirous of a change; the reigning prince hav-

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ing become detestable to his subjects by his cruelty and oppression. This being reported to Hassan, he fled from the castle in which he had taken refuge, and left the city.

The governor and principal persons of the place, not doubting but that Arashid, the king's brother, was on board of the Turkish armament, according to the assertions of Barbarossa, opened the gates of the city, and assured the commander of the troops that the capital was entirely at his disposal. Barbarossa, therefore, entered Tunis, at the head of nine thousand Turks, and was received with the loud and repeated acclamations of the people: but their surprise and indignation were extreme, when they heard him mention only the grand seignior and himself, and understood that the prince they so much desired was detained a prisoner at Constantinople. They immediately assembled in arms, and attacked the Turkish forces; but were soon dispersed by a general discharge of musquetry, and compelled to acknowledge Solyman as their sovereign, and Barbarossa as his viceroy.

In the mean time, the fugitive Hassan sought refuge among the Arabs, and requested the assistance of the emperor Charles the fifth, who complied with his solicitations, and sailed with a very numerous and powerful armament to the coast of Africa. Having landed his forces without opposition in the territories of Tunis, he attacked and took a strong fortification erected near the sea-side, which was defended with seven thousand troops, provided with ammunition, arms, and every necessary for sustaining a protracted siege. Barbarossa, sensible that the loss of Goletta and of his fleet would be followed by

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that of Tunis, unless he should be able to disappoint the designs of the enemy by attacking and defeating their troops before they reached the capital, resolved to hazard an engagement. He therefore convened an assembly of his Turkish officers, whom he acquainted with the imminent danger of himself and his followers, as well from the Christian army, as from the Arabs and Tunisians, that he knew were extremely disaffected to the present government. Upon which it was resolved to leave the city early next morning, and to fight the emperor. Accordingly, the forces under Barbarossa marched about three miles from Tunis, and encamped on a plain called Cazar Mexevi, abounding with springs of fresh water, where the general disposed his army in battle array, and waited the approach of the enemy. An engagement ensued, in which the Christians were victorious, and the Turks fled with precipitation into the city. Barbarossa left the capital soon after, and narrowly escaped falling into the hands of the enemy.

The Spanish monarch being now master of Tunis, re-established Hassan on the throne, on condition that he should become tributary to him, and deliver up his son Mahomet, with several officers of his court, as hostages of his vassalage. To these terms Hassan acceded; but becoming more odious to the Tunisians, on account of the cruelties practised by the Spaniards, and his being subject and tributary to a Christian prince, in a little time he was under the necessity of again leaving his kingdom, and seeking assistance from Charles. But whilst he was in Sicily, consulting with the viceroy of that monarch on the most effectual means of suppressing the dis-

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orders in his kingdom, a more powerful and dangerous enemy than Barbarossa was raised up against him. This was Hassan's eldest son, named Muley Hamida, who, at the instigation of a favourite called Mahmed, took the most effectual means of dethroning his father during his absence. He propagated the report, that his father had been converted to Christianity, and that he had been taken by the Turks, and carried prisoner to Constantinople, where he would either be put to death, or imprisoned for life, on account of his apostacy.

As Hassan had become extremely odious to the Tunisians, this rumour was readily believed, and Hamida found it no difficult matter to enter the city and take possession of the royal palace. He met, however, with an unexpected reproof from the governor, who rebuked him for so easily crediting this report, and for being in such haste to ascend the throne of his father. But Hamida persuading the people that the governor was in the interest of the Spaniards, who intended to place his brother Mahomet on the throne, they were immediately alarmed; dreading nothing so much as being under the government of a Christian, and such that prince was now considered. By this means, the treacherous son obtained possession of his father's throne, and having made himself master of Tunis, he ordered the governor to be put to death, and, like another Absalom, forced the most favourite of Hassan's wives to his incestuous embraces.

The news of this unnatural rebellion having reached the unfortunate monarch in Sicily, he hastened back into Africa, in order to prevent his son from entering into an alliance with Bar-

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barossa. Hassan had with him only two thousand Italians, and five hundred Moors, with whom he marched directly to the capital. The Tunisians perceiving the Italians, and taking it for granted that the king had been converted to Christianity, as his son asserted, a bloody battle immediately ensued, in which the forces of Hassan were overpowered by numbers, and many of them slain. The aged and unfortunate monarch was surrounded by Hamida's troops, and carried prisoner into the capital, where he was closely confined. The next day Hassan sent to request his son to come to him, and to hear what he had to plead in his own behalf; but Hamida absolutely refused to see him, and dispatched executioners, who gave him only the choice whether he would suffer death, or have his eyes put out. As he preferred the latter, he was deprived of sight by having a red-hot lancet thrust into his eyes, and left to languish in grief and misery.

We shall not pretend to give an account of the various depositions, assassinations, and other calamities, that befel the beys of Tunis, and which could not interest the minds of our readers. In order, however, to efface the melancholy impression which the barbarous and inhuman action we have been relating may occasion, we shall call the attention to the instructive and important lesson given by a Mahomet bey of this kingdom to an Ibrahim dey of Algiers. The former had amassed great riches; and was celebrated for his great knowledge in chymistry, and for having discovered the long-sought-for philosopher's stone. But it happened, notwithstanding his pretended learning, that he became disagreeable to his subjects, by whom he was

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dethroned. On this occasion, he had recourse to Ibrahim, and requested that he would assist him in regaining possession of his dignity and authority. To his solicitations the latter acceded, on condition that he would communicate to him the secret of which he was said to be in possession. Accordingly, when the Tunisian was reinstated in his kingdom, the Algerine demanded the fulfilment of his engagement. Mahomet, therefore, in consequence of his promise, sent to Ibrahim spades, hoes, and other instruments of agriculture, and informed him, that these were the instruments of that *real* magic, which produces solid riches, and converts every thing into gold.

CHAPTER XVI.

Tripoli.

THIS state, though tributary to the Porte, assumes the title of kingdom, and receives its appellation from the metropolis, called New Tripoli, to distinguish it from the ancient city in Phœnicia, which still retains its original denomination. This kingdom, which includes the desert of Barca, and the rest of Barbary, is bounded on the east by Egypt, on the north by the Mediterranean sea, on the west by Tunis, and on the south by Nubia, and extends about twelve hundred miles in length, but is of very disproportionate breadths. In this country there are no rivers of consequence; nor is its coast distinguished for any natural curiosities, except the

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gulph of Sydra, denominated the Syrtis Magna, in order to distinguish it from the Syrtis Minor, which lies on the coast of Tunis.

Tripoli is divided into maritime and inland; and the worthless inhabitants of these great districts are designated by the odious character of being pirates in the former, and robbers in the latter. The chief cities and towns are situated along the coast; but few of them merit any particular description, being in general thinly inhabited, meanly built, and ruined on the one hand by the exactions of the government, and on the other by the depredations of the plundering Arabs.

Tripoli, the metropolis of the kingdom, is situated in fourteen degrees thirty minutes of east longitude, and in thirty-three degrees five minutes of north latitude, and is a small, but populous place. This city stands on a sandy situation by the shore, and is surrounded by high walls, flanked with pyramidical towers. It has two gates; one fronting the north, or sea-side, the other the south, or interior parts of the country. To the east is a group of rugged rocks, on which are to be seen the ruins of some ancient forts; to the west is a strong castle, surrounded with fortifications in the modern style, and defended by cannon of uncommonly large dimensions. Old Tripoli lies at a small distance, almost in ruins; and is chiefly remarkable for having been the birth-place of the Roman emperor Severus.

New Tripoli was built by the natives, who gave it the appellation of Tarabilis, or Trebilis. It was once a place of great trade; and being filled with a number of capital edifices, exceeded

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all the neighbouring cities for opulence and beauty. It retains, however, very few marks of its ancient splendour; and its great decay seems to have been occasioned by the want of water and corn, two of the principal articles of life. Its limits are become very contracted; and the houses are mean, low, and irregular. It, nevertheless, contains some monuments, that evince its ancient magnificence; particularly a noble triumphal arch, part of which lies buried in the sand, though enough of it is still visible to excite our admiration of its elegant architecture. This structure has been composed of the finest marble; and it is evident, that the whole has been executed according to the purest models of antiquity: over each of its four gates is a triumphal chariot, in one of which, Alexander is represented drawn by two sphinxes.

This arch is very entire, if compared to similar other antiquities in this country; and it seems to be indebted for its preservation, rather to the effects of superstition, than to the substance of which it is formed; a tradition having prevailed for a number of ages, that its demolition will be attended with some dreadful calamity. In order to establish the authenticity of this foolish and idle story, the natives shew a stone, almost separated from the building, which they confidently affirm was displaced by the command of one of their princes, whose workmen were immediately alarmed by an earthquake; but persevering in the attempt, notwithstanding this salutary and supernatural admonition to desist, they were all buried under an immense cloud of sand.

The Franciscan friars, with several other orders of monks, have settled in New Tripoli,

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where the former have a handsome church, convent, and hospital; the last of which edifices is too often rendered necessary, on account of the malignant and pestilential disorders which infest the city. Near to the walls is an ancient burying-place, where urns, medals, and other reliques are frequently found. Notwithstanding the barrenness of the soil, the surrounding country is adorned with a number of handsome villas, the Christian slaves (who are, however, not numerous) being employed in cultivating the gardens. The principal trade of New Tripoli consists of linen, great quantities of which are manufactured by the inhabitants; but they place their chief dependence on their corsairs, who are more mischievous and desperate than any other on this piratical coast.

The grand seignior sends to Tripoli a pacha, who is not merely a titular vassal of the Porte, but really under subjection and tributary. Their avarice, however, and the sums they are obliged to send to Constantinople, have loaded the people with such heavy imposts, that most of the inhabitants are reduced to the lowest state of indigence and misery.

This kingdom, like the rest of Barbary, after being freed from the Roman yoke, passed successively into the hands of the Vandals, the Saracens, and the sovereigns of Morocco, Fez, and Tunis, till the natives, weary of their slavery and oppression, resolved to rid themselves of the tyranny, and to elect a monarch from their own number. Of these kings, nothing is recorded worthy of notice. Tripoli afterwards fell into the hands of the Arabs, who came from Egypt, and who carried away a great number of slaves,

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both from the kingdom and the capital. It again became subject to a king of Tunis, named Bucamen, whose tyranny and oppressions being intolerable, the Tripolitans threw off the yoke, and a second time chose a monarch from their own citizens. The newly elected sovereign, finding himself raised from among his equals to the summit of power and greatness, acted the tyrant in his turn, and was murdered.

The natives immediately chose another monarch, against whom Ferdinand, king of Castile and Arragon, sent a powerful fleet and army, under the command of the count of Navarre, who laid siege to the capital, which he took after a vigorous assault. The sovereign of Tripoli, with his family and friends, retired into the castle, where he surrendered on honourable terms; and was sent with his wife and two sons to the emperor Charles the fifth, who restored him to his former dignity, on condition of his becoming tributary to him. This monarch rebuilt and repeopled the place, which he continued to hold in the emperor's name, till the knights of Rhodes were expelled that island, and obliged to retire into Syracuse, when Charles bestowed on them Malta, together with the city and castle of Tripoli.

They continued in possession of the kingdom till the reign of Solyman, who, under pretence of its having been taken during a truce, sent against it a very powerful armament under the command of Sinan Dassat, to whom were joined in the expedition the celebrated Salha Rais, and the no less famous Dragut. With this fleet Sinan sailed for Tripoli, which he attacked with all his forces, and of which, at length, he ob-

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tained possession, after it had been in the hands of the Christians above forty years. Dragut being left as governor for the Porte, strongly fortified the city and castle, and erected two fortresses, which he supplied with artillery and ammunition. By this means it became one of the strongest cities in Africa, and the general retreat of the Turkish corsairs, that infested the coasts of Italy, Sicily, Naples, and Spain. The knights, some time after, endeavoured to repossess themselves of Tripoli, but suffered a repulse from the Turks.

But, at length, the Turkish government becoming extremely oppressive and intolerable, on account of the avarice and tyranny of the pachas deputed by the Porte, a general revolt was excited both in the city and country, at the head of which was a certain marabou, named Sid Hajah. Not being, however, sufficiently careful in securing foreign assistance, he was attacked and defeated by the Turkish admiral, and at length assassinated by his own partisans. This revolt was no sooner subdued, than the grand seignior having sent a new governor, who was a Greek renegado, and had obtained his dignity by bribes and intrigues, he took the reins of administration into his own hands. He did not, however, render himself entirely independent of the Porte, but agreed to pay an annual tribute to the grand seignior, as an acknowledgment of subjection. This revolution gave rise to the mixed form of government, that still exists in appearance; but it is really absolute and despotic. The bey, who is elected by the militia, would seem to be the chief of a body of republicans; but as he commands only slaves, he

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never has recourse to the divan, except on difficult conjunctures.

Such was the case of Tripoli, when its capital was bombarded by the French; which being the most important historical circumstance within our knowledge, it shall be concisely related. Louis the fourteenth, king of France, being highly incensed on hearing that a Tripolitan corsair had captured a ship under French colours, and that a great number of his subjects were detained in a state of slavery, in spite of the remonstrances of the consul, ordered all his officers sailing in those seas to make reprisals. Pursuant to these commands, the marquis of Anfreville, meeting with six vessels belonging to Tripoli, on the north coast of Sicily, immediately attacked them. Three of them, however, making all the sail they could, escaped unhurt; but the rest, venturing an engagement, suffered severely, and were, at length, obliged to flee to the island of Chios, in order to be refitted.

Commodore Du Quesne was no sooner informed of this circumstance, than he followed them with a squadron of seven sail; and after sending a message to the aga of Chios, in which he informed him, that he only came in search of some Tripolitan pirates, who, in contempt of the most solemn treaties, had committed several flagrant outrages on the subjects of the king his master, and hoped he would not protect such miscreants, completely blocked up the port. This message being disregarded by the aga, the commodore immediately bombarded the place with such fury, as to make dreadful havoc among the inhabitants; but was prevented from

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entering the harbour by a strong stoccado, which the Tripolitans had contrived to place in his way. Complaints of this hostile infringement of the French being carried to the grand seignior, almost occasioned a rupture between the two monarchs; but, through the address of the French ambassador at Constantinople, the matter was at length compromised, and articles were framed so much to his advantage, that the regency of Tripoli rejected them with the strongest indications of contempt.

Upon this, Louis, who had taken care to provide a powerful armament against that republic, directed the fleet to sail for Africa, under the command of the marshal D'Etrees, vice-admiral of France; who, being joined by two other squadrons, appeared before Tripoli on the 15th of June 1685. The bombardment of the city instantly commenced, and a dreadful havoc being soon made, the utmost consternation and dismay prevailed among the inhabitants. They sent a venerable old man, near one hundred years of age, who had been dey of Algiers for twenty-four years, to solicit a peace on the most favourable terms he could obtain. The French commander demanded two hundred thousand crowns, as an equivalent for the captures made from his nation; and that all Christian slaves, who had been taken under French colours, should be restored. To these terms the regency acceded; but some delays arising from the difficulty of raising so considerable a sum, the demand was greatly reduced, and, at length, satisfied in money, rings, and jewels. The Tripolitans set all the French slaves at liberty, and allowed the consul of their nation to enjoy pe-

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culiar privileges and exemptions; and two of the principal persons of the republic were obliged to do homage at the court of Versailles.

They landed at Toulon, and proceeded to the residence of the French monarch, from whom as suppliants they expected to experience some marks of displeasure; but they were agreeably surprised by the polite reception which they every where met with. Of the many things which seemed to excite their notice and admiration, nothing struck them so much as the opera. They considered the music, the actors and actresses, the decorations, machines, and dresses, as a series of enchantments, an assemblage of irresistible charms. Khalil, the chief of the embassy, who had been a corsair, was so much affected by the sight that he exclaimed, "We should be able to defend ourselves against any enemy that might attack us, unless it were the opera; against which we would not contend, but immediately lay down our arms."

The Desert of Barca, which is properly included in the kingdom of Tripoli, adjoins to Egypt, and is of various and uncertain limits. It is for the most part only a barren tract of shifting sands, on which account, the Arabs, by whom it is principally inhabited, denominate it *Ceyrart Barka*, or the road of whirlwinds. The greatest part of this country is parched up for want of water, and, except in the neighbourhood of towns and villages, where the ground produces corn, maize, and millet, it is a barren and uncultivated waste; insomuch that the wretched inhabitants are as ill provided with food and raiment as can possibly be conceived, and their very external appearance is sufficient to terrify any stran-

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ger. Their aspect is fierce and ravenous, meagre hunger giving a tinge to the complexions of the whole race; their garb is what they take from travellers, and the poorest of them have scarcely a rag to cover their nakedness. As they are more necessitous, they are more desperate than other robbers, and they frequently extend their plundering excursions as far as Numidia, and Lybia. They commit the greatest cruelties on those that fall into their hands; and the traveller who escapes naked with his life, may consider himself very mildly treated by those wretched miscreants. So indignant and impoverished are these people, that they will frequently sell their children to the Sicilians and other Christians, in order to procure the necessaries of life.

The canton in which stood the oasis of the temple of Jupiter Ammon, is esteemed the most arid and dangerous; being almost wholly covered with burning sands, and so light as to be easily raised by the least breath of wind. They are so scorching that they frequently burn out the eyes of travellers; sink under their feet at every step; stifle them in an instant; and sometimes bury whole caravans. The melancholy catastrophe of Cambyses and his army, in his bold attempt against the temple and oracle of Jupiter; and the dangerous, but successful expedition of Alexander, will recur to the minds of our readers. In short, the country is a sandy desert, through which it would be difficult to pass, except by the assistance of a compass, or the direction of the stars; and the inhabitants conspire with its natural barrenness and inhospitality, to render travelling equally dangerous

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and unprofitable; and though it was once the route pursued by the caravans in their journey between Barbary and Mecca, they now carefully avoid this tract by taking a more distant circuit.

The coast of Barca is generally known by the name of Derna, and receives this appellation from one of its most considerable towns and ports; and, indeed, it is only in the maritime parts, that the inhabitants have imbibed the smallest ideas of justice or humanity, and profess Mahometanism. The rest, especially those of the desert, are entirely destitute of religion, and as wild and uncultivated as the soil they inhabit; and nature seems to have viewed this region with peculiar aversion and disgust.

CHAPTER XVII.

Malta.

THIS small island, which was known to the Romans by the name of Melita, lies in the Mediterranean sea, between the coasts of Tripoli and Sicily; and, though only eighteen leagues distant from the latter, and about fifty from the former, it is generally assigned, though without any just reason, to Africa. It is situated in the thirty-sixth degree of north latitude, and between the fifteenth and sixteenth degrees of east longitude; and has the coast of Sicily on the north, that of Tripoli on the south, the Morea on the east, and the islands of Pantabarca, Linosa, and Lampadosa, on the west.

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It is of an oval figure; being about twenty miles in length, and twelve in breadth.

Malta is principally a soft white rock, covered to the depth of a foot with rich earth, which produces great quantities of indigo, cotton, grapes, olives, figs, lemons, oranges, and other fruit; but not a sufficiency of corn or wine for the consumption of the inhabitants, who import these articles from Sicily. It yields pulse, roots, herbs, and culinary vegetables of every kind in great profusion; and abounds in pasture. To the north-west of Malta, and separated from it by a channel a league and a half in breadth, is the island of Gozo, which is about eight leagues in circumference; and in the same channel lie the small isles of Comin and Comino. The former is supposed to be the Hephestia, or Isle of Vulcan, of the ancients, and is a league in circumference; the other is less. Lampadosa, the Lipadusa of Ptolemy, is situated at the distance of twenty-five or thirty leagues from Malta, and at present is uncultivated and uninhabited, but exhibits the ruins of a castle and town. The reason of its having been abandoned is ascribed by some to the spectres and phantoms that haunt it; but, with more probability, by others to the unwholesomeness of the air.

The southern coast of Malta abounds with rocks and shelves, and has neither road nor harbour; but on the east side it possesses some commodious havens, particularly Cala di Marco and Cala di Paulo. The most considerable, however, are those denominated Muzet and Marza, divided by an oblong peninsula, on

which is built a strong fort called St. Elmo, that defends the entrance of both. When this island was taken possession of by the knights, it contained only one city, thirty or forty villages, and the number of its inhabitants did not amount to more than twelve thousand, including women and children. It has now four considerable towns; Citta Valetta, Citta Vecchia, ancient Malta, and Citta Vittoriosa, or St. Michael; all of which are well inhabited, and strongly fortified. The hamlets have become populous villages, and the villages large towns. The ports and havens on the coast have also received great improvements; and the whole island is every where so strongly fortified, that it has been able to resist and defeat all the power and efforts of the Ottoman Porte to the present period. The number of inhabitants is so increased, that, in 1632, they amounted to fifty-one thousand seven hundred and fifty, exclusive of the knights of the order; and, at this time, the population of Malta is estimated at ninety thousand souls.

The climate is excessively hot, which is occasioned by the reverberation of the rays of the sun from the high rocks that cover the island; but during the greatest part of the afternoon, the westerly winds prevail, which serve to moderate the heat, and render the air more salubrious. There are no rivers in the island, but some excellent springs of fresh water, and, where these fail, the people dig wells in the rock. The cities, however, are chiefly supplied by rain-water, which they preserve in cisterns.

The city of Malta, formerly denominated Melita, from the great quantity of honey which

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the island produced, was once the capital. It is a very ancient place; and its cathedral, dedicated to St. Peter, was erected soon after Paul had converted the inhabitants to Christianity. Tradition says, that the prefect Publius, who so kindly received that apostle, was constituted the first bishop of this island.

Citta Valetta, or, as it is denominated by the French, Citta Nuovo, is the most considerable city in Malta, and received its appellation from the celebrated John de Valetta, grand master of the order, who commanded it to be rebuilt in 1566, after it had been destroyed by the Turks. It is seated on a high and rocky ground, and is reckoned a very strong place, not only on account of its advantageous situation, but also of the strong walls, flanked with bastions, by which it is surrounded. The streets are wide and long, and adorned with many public edifices. The houses amount to about two thousand, and are strong and lofty, with flat summits, after the eastern manner, and provided with cisterns and reservoirs of water. The surrounding country abounds with delightful gardens, producing all kinds of fruits, flowers, and herbage, and kept in excellent order. Here are several nunneries, convents, and churches, and a cathedral dedicated to St. John, the patron of the order, whose right hand they pretend to shew as a valuable relic. In this city resides the grand master, whose palace is a sumptuous edifice, and the largest and most magnificent in the whole island; and in it is held the general chapter or assembly of the knights of the first order. The hospital for sick knights is also a superb structure, in which every person has a separate room. The diseased per-

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tions are lodged in the most commodious manner, and not only attended by proper physicians and surgeons, but even served by the knights themselves, though of the greatest rank and quality. The *bizert*, or prison, is a large and handsome building, and suited to the vast number of slaves that are brought from the coast of Barbary, and out of the Turkish dominions.

At the entrance into the bay are two large rocks, which advance into the sea opposite to Citta Valetta, on one of which stand the town and castle of St. Angelo, and on the other is Citta Vittoriosa. The former was once a strong and populous place, with a palace, and apartments for the knights, but was almost destroyed by the Turks in 1565. The latter, which received its appellation from the protracted siege it sustained against the Turkish forces, is a strongly fortified town, a mile and a half in circumference, and contains about one thousand two hundred houses, which are chiefly inhabited by Maltese natives and marines. It has five or six small churches, one of which belongs to the Greeks, and a palace that serves for a court to the officers of the inquisition. The town and harbour of St. Michael, commonly called Sangle Island, is well fortified, and chiefly inhabited by corsairs, who cruise against the Turks.

In the church dedicated to St. Agatha, is a statue of that female saint, in white marble, of exquisite workmanship. When the Turks laid siege to the city, the superstitious inhabitants fetched this image out of the church and placed it upon the ramparts, where the saint was exposed to the fire of the besiegers; and whilst she was wholly employed in protecting her ve-

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tories, and unmindful of her own safety, a shot carried off the little finger of her right hand. This statue is held in the greatest veneration by all the Maltese, as the protectress of the city and island.

The natives, both men and women, are dressed after the Sicilian fashion. The women are not tall, but handsome, sprightly, and witty. They are shy and modest in outward appearance, yet amorous, jealous, and revengeful. During the hot weather, most of the women wear no other clothing than smocks and slippers in the houses; but when they go abroad, they have long veils, with linen drawers under them. They dress their heads with a variety of ornaments, and plait and curl their hair in different forms.

The men are robust, brave, and warlike. In consequence of their temperance and constant labour, they attain to a great age; but they are extremely proud and vindictive, and for a slight affront will frequently assassinate one another.

They are jealous; but before marriage they carry their intended spouses with confidence to the most public places, and affect to allow them a great deal of liberty. When married, however, they watch their wives very strictly, and those who approach them, even if they are knights, have to dread the dagger or the poniard.

The natives, who are supposed to be of Arabic extraction, speak that language; which, however, is pronounced so differently in different parts, that the inhabitants of one parish scarcely understand those of another. But, in cities and towns, the French and Italian are principally

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used; and by the knights and persons of rank, the latter especially.

In their burials, they imitate the Grecian custom of hiring women to mourn, who accompany the corpse with loud and hideous outcries, and exhibit the most ridiculous gestures. The nearest of the relations shave their hair, throw themselves on the body of the deceased, and send forth the most doleful lamentations. The procession is preceded by a number of the fraternity called penitents, masked, and followed by another retinue of priests and monks, some of whom carry the cross, and others torches in their hands. The rest of the funeral ceremony is performed after the manner of the Greek church.

The forces of the island exclusive of the knights, and of those that belong to their order, consist of the inhabitants, who may be reckoned about twenty-five thousand men, capable of bearing arms, and well disciplined. At a given signal of firing three cannons, they are obliged to appear under their proper standards, and in all their martial accoutrements. They had formerly long swords and daggers, bows and arrows, lances and pikes, which they handled with wonderful dexterity; but since they have been under the discipline of the Maltese knights, they have become no less expert in the use of fire-arms. They are reviewed every six months by the grand master, or his deputy. The commerce carried on here is inconsiderable, and consists chiefly of wine and a few silks. A great quantity of corn is imported from Sicily, Alicant, and other places. But what contributes most to the flourishing state of the island is the residence of

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the knights of St. John of Jerusalem, commonly called the knights of Malta.

If a Mahometan were to write the history of this order, he would say that, in an island of the Mediterranean, there is an association of men who are sworn enemies to the religion of the prophet, and who wage eternal war with those that profess it, ravaging their coasts, and carrying them away as slaves; and that through zeal for Christianity, they engage to make no peace, nor enter into any truce with them. From such an account of the Maltese knights, people might be induced to blame their ardent zeal, and to tax it with the name of overstrained enthusiasm. But they will do well to be cautious in condemning this institution, till they have considered in what manner it is formed; what is the end proposed by this conduct; and how it has been led by circumstances to support and maintain itself in a warfare, which is its essential and necessary occupation. In order to defend itself, it is frequently obliged to attack others.

The grand master has the whole revenue of Malta, and of the small island of Goza, entirely at his disposal, and over both of which, at his election, he is invested with the sovereign power during life. He stands next in rank to the imperial and regal dignity, and has the precedence of all other sovereign princes, and even of the Romish cardinals, sending and receiving ambassadors like other crowned heads. To these the popes have added some other privileges. His revenues arise from a certain tax on the island, including the duties on goods imported and exported. These, with other perquisites annexed to the dignity, are supposed to amount

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to about sixty thousand crowns a year. He formerly assumed no higher title than that of "The humble servant of the sacred house of the hospital of St. John of Jerusalem;" but this was changed for "The grand master of the order of St. John of Jerusalem, prince of Malta and Goza." He cannot be deposed without the consent of the pope, nor can any other person decide a dispute or controversy between him and his knights.

According to tradition, this island was once governed by an African prince, named Battus, an enemy of queen Dido, and from whose possession it passed into that of the Carthaginians, as may be inferred from the Punic inscriptions still visible. The Romans made themselves masters of it, at the same time that they subdued the island of Sicily. They were driven out, in the year 828, by the Arabs; who were expelled in their turn by Roger the Norman, in 1190. From that period, Malta continued under the dominion of the kings of Sicily, till it fell, by the conquest of that island, into the hands of the emperor Charles the fifth.

The Christians, ever mindful of the respect due to those places where the miracles and mysteries of their holy religion were performed, have always considered it as a necessary and pious duty to visit them. These places, which they esteem sacred, and Jerusalem the capital, being conquered and inhabited by the Saracens, the pilgrims were exposed to various acts of oppression, which rendered the journey peculiarly dangerous and troublesome. Some Italian gentlemen and merchants, who had witnessed the ill treatment of the Christians, undertook to pro-

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cure them a sure asylum in the city of Jerusalem, where they might not be exposed to the insults of either Mahometans or Greeks. These persons, who were natives of Amalphy in the kingdom of Naples, taking advantage of the access given them by commerce to the court of the sultan of Egypt, obtained, about the year 1048, permission to erect a house or hospital at Jerusalem, near the holy sepulchre, for the entertainment and safety of pilgrims, together with a place of worship, where divine service might be performed after the rites of their own church. The chapel was dedicated to St. John the almoner. This establishment was supported by the alms collected in Italy, and other parts of Europe; and they soon found themselves in a condition to erect another hospital for women, the chapel of which was consecrated to Mary Magdalene: from this small beginning arose the order of St. John of Jerusalem, which since that period has been the bulwark of Christianity.

In this hospital, the Christians of the Latin church were received and maintained, without any distinction of rank or nation. Those who had been stripped by the banditti were supplied with new clothes; and those that were lame or sick, or laboured under any infirmity or affliction, obtained suitable relief from this charity. Among them was the celebrated Gerard, a Frenchman of Provence, who, from the time of his arrival in Jerusalem, had dedicated himself to the service of the hospital of St. John, and, for his singular piety, and tenderness to the pilgrims, had the care and management of that house committed to him under the title of administrator. At

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the same time a Roman lady, named Agnes, had the charge of those of her own sex; and these two extended their charity not only to all Christians, but even to unbelievers, who went thither for relief.

The hospital continued in this state, till Jerusalem was surprised, and almost destroyed, by the Turks or Turcomans, who put the whole garrison of the Egyptian sultan to the sword. This disaster obstructed all pilgrimages for a time; and those barbarians plundered the house of every thing of value. But after the city was taken by the Christians, Gerard and Agnes had the consolation of seeing the hospital enriched with liberal donations, and endowed with considerable revenues, which supplied them with the means of increasing and extending their benefactions. The number of the Hospitalers, both male and female, being considerably augmented, Gerard, in conjunction with Agnes, formed the design of persuading the brothers and sisters to renounce the world, and to enter on a monastic course of life. He framed the rules of their order, which were simple regulations, tending to the benefit of the poor, and of the pilgrims received into the hospital, and which were approved and confirmed by Pope Pascal the second, who took this religious institution under his protection, and constituted Gerard rector for life. He died at an advanced age, esteemed and lamented by all Christians.

On the death of Gerard, Raymond Dupuy, a native of Dauphiny, and of an ancient and noble family, was unanimously elected his successor, and is considered as the first grand master of the order. Though A. D. 1113.

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he saw himself at the head of such a numerous fraternity, he was sensibly affected with the distressful state of the Christians of Palestine, and the dangers and misery to which they were exposed. Vast numbers of them groaned under a rigorous servitude; their towns and villages were exposed to the continual incursions of the infidels; their wives and daughters were sacrificed to the lust of their enemies; the men were obliged to apostatize, in order to avoid death, or a slavery worse than death; and the roads were so infested with banditti, as to render all communication and commerce hazardous and difficult.

These considerations engrossed the thoughts of Raymond from the very moment that he was raised to his new dignity. He explained them at large in a general assembly of the people; after which he proposed the project he had formed of constituting them a military order, and obliging them to the exercise of arms, as well as of the duties of hospitality and religion. Some difficulties occurred in adopting the plan; but, at length, they were surmounted by the zeal which the Christians manifested for the defence of the Holy Land; and as the greatest part of them had fought under the grand master, in the first crusade, they were the more easily prevailed on to resume their martial employments, when they saw that they might make the tumult of their former occupation accord with their pacific duties. The patriarch of Jerusalem granted them a dispensation for the resumption of arms, on condition of their using them only against infidels.

From that period, the order was divided into three classes; the first consisted of those who,

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by the nobility of their birth, or the rank they had formerly held in the armies, seemed best qualified for warlike operations, and for defending their religion and the Holy Land. The second class comprehended such as had exercised the sacerdotal functions, in the capacity of priest or chaplain; who, besides performing their usual offices in the church, and attending on the sick, were enjoined, each in his turn, to serve in the army as ministers during the time of war. The third class was composed of those who were neither of noble descent, nor in holy orders; but were called *serving brothers*, and appointed to attend the sick and wounded, or employed in such inferior occupations, as the knights should think proper to assign them. These last, in process of time, were distinguished from the rest, by a coat of arms different from the other knights; but the dress prescribed to them all was black, with a white cross on the breast.

Raymond, also, regulated the order and discipline, with respect to elections, admission to the noviciate, reception, profession, and taking the vows; the form of which was as follows, and was made at the altar: "I do hereby vow and promise to the almighty God, the most blessed Virgin Mary, and to St. John the Baptist, by the blessing and assistance of Heaven, that I will pay true and sincere obedience to the superior who shall be established over me, and who shall be legally elected by our religion; and that I will renounce all property, and devote myself to perpetual chastity." As he withdrew his hand from the book, the person who officiated at his admittance said, "We receive you, and

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acknowledge you, as a servant of the poor and the sick, and as consecrated to the defence of the catholic religion." On which the new knight replied, "I acknowledge myself as such." In this ceremony the gown and the sword were united.

The knights soon gained such esteem and reputation by their valour and martial exploits, and were so much honoured and encouraged by most of the Christian princes, that many of the young nobility in Europe were desirous of being received into their order. This concourse obliged the master to make a farther division, answerable to the principal nations to be admitted, and were eight in number, and called tongues.

These were Provence, to which was annexed the dignity of the grand commander; Auvergne, to which was added the office of grand marshal of the order; France, to which belonged the post of grand hospitaler; Italy, to which was united the office of grand admiral of the order of Rome; Arragon, which had the dignity of grand protector of the order; England, to which was annexed the office of colonel-general of the infantry; Germany, where the grand bailiff and prior resided; Castile, to which was affixed the dignity of grand chancellor of the order. This division still subsists in nearly the same form, except that the tongue of England has been abolished since the reformation, and its revenues have been differently applied.

The use which these religious warriors made of their wealth and property, excited the liberality and admiration of many sovereigns, who gave them funds in their kingdom, and of great

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lords and pious persons, who bequeathed to them valuable legacies in every part of Europe. To manage their property, it was necessary to dispatch to the different countries, proper officers chosen from the body. The knights that were thus appointed in the several parts of Europe, to take care of the revenues, were denominated commanders, from the title of their commission, which commenced with the word *commendamus*, we recommend to you; and the houses or communities, where those administrators resided, were called commanderies. The office was not for life, but during the pleasure of the chapter, or so long as they behaved themselves properly.

But as these commanders were sometimes found guilty of injustice, in appropriating too great a share of the revenue to their own use, they were afterwards placed under the cognizance and visitation of superior officers, called priors, who were appointed by the assembly of knights to inspect their conduct, and to be responsible for the proper application of the money received. From the nature of the office, the contributions sent to the chief place were styled *responsiona*, and the administrators obtained the name of *responsors*, and were engaged to transmit to Jerusalem the revenues of each commandery, in conformity to the decree and ordinances of the general chapter. The bailiffs were only subaltern commanders, who acted for their superiors, and farmed the commanderies for a certain annual sum of money. Some of them were called conventuals, resided in convents, and had the management of a quantity of land, the income of which they paid to the commander, and had a stipend assigned them for their main-

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tenance, by the grand master. The grand bailiffs are not comprehended in this class; their office being of a higher nature, and even superior to that of the commanders themselves. These fiscal dignities have been greatly changed by time, but they have become exceedingly lucrative.

The use of the revenues, as at first appointed by the grand master and the chapter, was intended to support the hospitals, the knights, chaplains, serving brothers, the Christians who made pilgrimages to the holy places, the sick, the lame, and the wounded. In a word, the property of which they were possessed, was designed to defray all the expences of the hospital, the brothers, and the church. In the next place, the revenues were to be appropriated to the procuring of arms, the paying of the troops whom they engaged in their service, and the purchasing of ammunition and other necessary stores for carrying on the war, guarding the highways, escorting pilgrims, and performing the various other duties of religion.

In the history of Malta, are many heroic feats and martial exploits, performed as well by individuals as by generals. It ought, therefore, to be diligently read and considered by young persons, in order that bravery, which has become too methodical, may no longer be restrained to common rules and servile modes of acting. In matters relating to internal affairs, rivalships, jealousy respecting the government, stratagems to supplant each other, and the like, notwithstanding the military candour on which the knights pique themselves, and the importance they attach to these affairs, they are to be

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considered merely as monachal intrigues, and unworthy of historical notice. Under these impressions, we shall narrate only what seems to have produced some remarkable event, or to have had an immediate or indirect influence on the constitution of the order.

Gilbert Assalis, an Englishman, the fourth grand master, and a knight of singular courage and valour, had the misfortune to be prevailed on by the king of Jerusalem, to assist him with all his forces in the war against the Saracens in Egypt; and for that purpose borrowed the sum of one hundred thousand crowns on the credit of the order. He took the city of Balbeis, the ancient Pelusium; but his success not answering his expectations, nor the vast debt he had incurred, he resigned his dignity, and embarked for France. He was blamed for his ambition in engaging in a war that was not holy, contrary to the institutes of the order, and for his prodigality of its treasure, which he consumed in a short space of time. A. D. 1167.

The affairs of the kingdom of Jerusalem became so desperate, through the imprudence of king Amatri, and the valour and success of the great Saladin, that both the knights Templars (another military body) and those of St. John were continually in arms against the powerful enemies of Christianity. Their forces being exhausted, required fresh and continual supplies from Europe; to obtain which, Amatri sent ambassadors thither, and he himself repaired to Constantinople, to implore the assistance of the emperor; whilst the general of Saladin was ravaging Syria and Palestine with fire and sword. Jobert, the grand master, with the assistance of

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his knights, and in conjunction with the Templars, marched against the enemy, and obliged the Turcomans to raise the siege of Arach, and to retire into the mountains and defiles. Amatri, however, returned from Constantinople, without having obtained the desired relief either of troops or money. The grand master proved a constant friend to his son, after he ascended the throne, and obliged Saladin to retire with great loss and precipitation into his own dominions.

But a reverse took place soon after, and Jobert died of grief, occasioned by the melancholy situation of the kingdom of Jerusalem. His successor fell bravely fighting at the head of his knights, and ended his government by a glorious death. The enemy being now in the heart of the kingdom, the chapter elected the brave Garner of Neapoli, in Syria, in the room of their deceased grand master. He signalized himself in that desperate battle, in which Guy de Lusignan, king of Jerusalem, was defeated and made prisoner, the holy cross taken by the enemy, and most of the knights lost their lives during the engagement, or were afterwards put to death by the order of Saladin. Garner fought till he was covered with wounds, and then escaped to Ascalon, where he died.

The small remainder of the knights chose, in his room, Ermengard, who was with difficulty prevailed on to accept the dignity at that juncture. Soon after his election, the victorious Saladin entered the city of Jerusalem, expelled all the knights Hospitalers out of that capital, and the Latins out of Palestine, and abolished all the military orders that had

A. D. 1191.

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been instituted in that country, for the safety and security of pilgrims. The grand master seeing his order deprived of their ancient habitation, redeemed about a thousand Christian captives out of the hands of the conqueror, and transported himself and his knights to the fortress of Margath, on the confines of Judea, which had been given them by the possessor, and which for a time became their principal place of residence. Here, however, they continued only till the taking of the town of Acre by the Christians, four years after, the capture of which, in a great measure, was owing to them. Removing thither, they acquired a more secure retreat; and the place obtained its present appellation from the knights, and was called Saint John d'Acre.

Alphonso de Portugal, a descendant of the royal family of that kingdom, and the eleventh grand master of the order, soon after his election convened a general chapter, in which many prudent and salutary measures were agreed to, for the reformation of the knights, who were become remiss in their duty, and had accustomed themselves to a luxurious mode of life; and for introducing an aristocratical form of government. Many of his regulations, however, being disliked by the knights, and considered as too rigorous and severe, he was not successful in his attempt. Becoming, also, odious on account of his imperious behaviour, he divested himself of his dignity, and sailed for Portugal, in hopes of ascending the throne of that kingdom, where he was poisoned by his brother in 1207. But before his abdication, he had obtained for his order several privileges and immunities, which might have procured him esteem and respect, had not

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his intended reformation occasioned anarchy and confusion: the major part of the knights absolutely refused to obey him any longer, and, living in open defiance of his statutes, obliged him at once to abandon both his project and his dignity.

His departure, however, did not allay the jealousies, nor terminate the divisions, which had been caused in the order: a dreadful quarrel happened between the Hospitalers and Templars, which had nearly proved fatal to both. The latter had expelled from a castle a vassal of the former; who were no sooner informed of the injury, than, without farther ceremony, they dispatched a number of their knights, that scaled the place, and drove out the aggressors with the sword. These outrages inflamed both orders to such a degree as to produce a civil war, in which the friends of each interested themselves, and made two considerable parties. There being at that time no sovereign to restrain their resentment, the patriarch and some of the bishops at length found means to persuade them to agree to a suspension of arms, and advised them to refer the controversy to the determination of the holy see. Accordingly, the pontiff exhorted them to lay aside their jealousies and dissensions, which were so inimical to the welfare of Christianity, and so useful to the Turks and their other enemies. At length, the necessity of uniting against the Saracens, and of opposing their success, induced them to compromise the differences that subsisted between them, and restored harmony and discipline.

About six or seven years after this accommodation, died the king of Cyprus, whose sove-

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reignty descending to his son Hughes, with whom he was not on friendly terms, he bequeathed the government of the island to the knights of St. John d'Acre. Wealth flowed in to the order from different princes, who seemed well pleased with their services in Palestine. They also obtained various new privileges from the popes Celestine the third and Innocent the third; and more particularly from John, king of England. The ambassadors, likewise, who had been dispatched into Europe to obtain fresh succours, returned with promises of a powerful and warlike armament both by sea and land.

William de Castlenau, the eighteenth grand master, was a strict observer of their religious duties and martial discipline. During his government, the French monarch having caused the fortifications of Ptolemais, Joppa, Cæsarea, and other places, to be repaired, returned into France, and left the care of Palestine to the new grand master, who accordingly fortified the monastery of mount Thabor in the form of a strong citadel. He also extended the domains of the order in that country, and strengthened the castle of Bethany, and other fortresses, with numerous garrisons, which became the support and protection of the Christians.

Hugh Revel, a native of Dauphiny, and the nineteenth grand master, greatly contributed, by his prudent and exemplary conduct, to raise the dignity of the order. He summoned a general chapter at Cæsarea, where the abuses, which existed in several commanderies, were examined into and abolished, and priors appointed to inspect them, and to transmit the revenues to the public treasury. A law was also enacted, pro-

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hibiting the knights from making wills, or leaving legacies to their domestics or others, without the permission of the grand master. By these, and such like precautions, they were enabled to act, on all occasions, with their accustomed bravery and zeal, notwithstanding the difficulties occasioned by the remissness and indolence of those monarchs, whose duty and interest certainly required that they should have been supported.

Revel had just entered into the third year of his dignity, when Bendocdar, the newly-elected sultan of Egypt, threatened the knights with total expulsion from the country of Palestine. He accordingly attacked the castle of Ashur, which was garrisoned with one hundred knights, besides other troops, who defended the place with the greatest bravery till they were all cut to pieces; insomuch that the sultan could not enter the fortress, without passing over the bodies of those who preferred death to capitulation. The next year, the sea-port of Joppa, and the castle of Beaufort and Carac, fell into the hands of Bendocdar, and the garrisons underwent the same fate. Antioch was surrendered by treachery, and nothing appeared but the dismal prospect of being expelled entirely out of the Holy Land. To complete their misfortunes, all their possessions in that country fell into the hands of the enemy, and the Christians, particularly those of the order of St. John d'Acre, were driven out of Palestine.

After the capture of Acre, John de Villiers, a native of France, and the twenty-first grand master, together with the few knights that survived the loss of that place, embarked with all speed, and sought refuge in the island of Cyprus, where

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they made the city of Limisso their principal residence. Here they settled for the present; and Villiers convened two successive chapters, in which they consulted the most proper means of improving their almost hopeless condition, and of preventing the total extinction of their order. The grand master's speech, which brought tears from the eyes of every person present, was followed by the protestations of all, both old and young, that they were ready to hazard their lives for the recovery of their former possessions. The city of Limisso had suffered so much from the Arabian and Saracen corsairs, that some of the assembly proposed to take refuge in a more safe and convenient settlement in Italy, whither they had been invited. But this advice was rejected by the grand master, and senior knights, who considered it as inconsistent with the intent and meaning of some of their statutes, which required that they should reside as near the Holy Land as possible, in order to be ready, whenever an opportunity should offer, to take up arms for its recovery. It was, therefore, agreed to remain in Cyprus for the present.

As this settlement was not sufficiently large for containing a great multitude of knights and their retinue, it was resolved that a certain number of those gallies, which had conveyed them to the island, should be employed, under the command of some of the order, in traversing the seas, and carrying those who visited Palestine. Accordingly, many of them sailed from different ports, and, on their return, brought in several considerable prizes taken from the infidel corsairs, which were cruising to intercept and carry off the pilgrims. These augmented their naval

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force; and the success which attended this enterprize, encouraged them to build other vessels; insomuch that the knights, at this period, commenced their maritime expeditions.

This new employment was the more necessary, as it constituted at that time their principal resource. Several princes, considering them as unnecessary, after they had lost possession of the Holy Land, sequestered the lands and revenues which had been appropriated to their use, and applied them to what they denominated more pious and charitable purposes than supporting the knights in pride and luxury. This reproach was certainly not unmerited; but the pope espousing their cause, obliged the kings of England and Portugal to revoke their sequestrations.

The knights murmured when the head of their order did not exhibit sufficient ardour for naval enterprizes, which were extremely lucrative. This was sufficiently demonstrated during the government of their twenty-second grand master, who was a person advanced in years, and fitter for being employed in monkish offices, than ruling a warlike people. His affected indolence, and neglect in sending the gallies after fresh captures, occasioned his being disliked and despised by the whole order. Complaints were made against him to the pope by the knights, who requested that they might depose him. He was, therefore, summoned before the pontiff; but died before his arrival in Italy.

Foulquier de Villaret, a Frenchman, and the twenty-fourth grand master, conceived the design of conquering the island of Rhodes, where the lords of Galla had erected themselves into petty sovereigns, and which

A. D. 1308.

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was peopled with Turkish and Saracen merchants. Having, therefore, obtained the assistance of several Christian princes, he embarked his knights, together with all the arms and effects of the order, and sailed from Cyprus on his intended expedition. He besieged the capital of the island for some time; but, at length, a general engagement took place, in which the inhabitants fought with the greatest bravery in defence of their liberty, their property, their wives and children, and every thing near and dear to them. The Saracens, however, were defeated, and compelled to abandon the field of battle, and to seek refuge among the islands of the Archipelago.

Having obtained possession of Rhodes, in memory of this signal transaction, which was so honourable and advantageous to the order, they assumed the title of the knights of Rhodes. This conquest was followed by the reduction of eight or nine of less size and importance, formerly called Rhodian islands, which, though mostly barren rocks, formed collectively a petty kingdom. The order of the Templars being suppressed, their lands and revenues were bestowed on the knights of Rhodes, who were thus rendered still more powerful.

The success which attended the order in their cruises at sea, introduced a very luxurious mode of life. Even Villaret himself was strongly infected with the growing evil: his person was always surrounded with fawning parasites; and his table served with the most exquisite and costly dainties. He bestowed the vacant commands on his worthless favourites, in prejudice of those who, by their seniority or their merit, seemed best en-

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titled to them. He precluded all remonstrances and complaints, by denying access to his person; or, if he vouchsafed an audience to any person, he assumed the most haughty and arrogant deportment. On account of the absolute and despotic authority which he exercised, the grand master was summoned to appear before a general chapter; but refusing to obey, he was formally deposed. Villaret appealed from the decision of the assembly to that of the pope, who, in order to preserve his authority over the order, restored him to his former dignity, on condition that he should voluntarily resign his office, after it had been thus honourably recovered. The grand master accordingly fulfilled his agreement, passed the remainder of his life in Languedoc, and died in the bosom of peace, in his own country, where a marble monument was erected to his memory.

Under the mastership of his successor Villeneuve, the great concourse of knights rendered it necessary to enact a law, which declared that those should be incapable of every dignity, who had not resided a certain number of years in Rhodes, and who, during that residence, had not served in war, or on board the ships of the order.

A remarkable transaction happened under this grand master. Among the many venomous creatures that infested the island, was a horrid and frightful serpent, which inhabited a subterraneous cavern, from whence it made dreadful havoc among the cattle. Several Rhodian knights had lost their lives in endeavouring to destroy this monster; on which account Villeneuve expressly forbade any farther attempts to

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be made, and prohibited all from exposing themselves to its fury, under the severest penalties. This injunction they readily obeyed, except a provincial knight named Deodat de Gozan, who resolved, at the hazard of his life, to endeavour to destroy it, and thereby rid the island of this annoyance.

Having examined the dragon at a distance, he observed that the belly of the animal was without scales, and therefore determined to assault it in that defenceless part. In the mean time retiring to his native castle of Gozan, he caused a figure having a perfect resemblance to it to be made; accustomed two young dogs to throw themselves on the fictitious monster, without being frightened, and to seize it under the belly, whilst he himself, in complete armour, attacked it on horseback with his lance. Having practised this exercise several months, he sailed back to Rhodes with his dogs, and lay concealed till he found an opportunity of assaulting the serpent. Going to the place of its abode, he struck it with his lance, which recoiled; whilst he was preparing to repeat the attack, his horse, affrighted with the hissing and stench of the monster, started, and would have thrown him, had he not dexterously dismounted. He then drew his sword, and by the assistance of his dogs, at length, with much difficulty and danger, gained a complete victory, and killed the dragon.

This exploit was no sooner known, than Gozan was surrounded by a vast crowd of inhabitants, and a great number of knights, who conducted him in triumph to the palace of the grand master; but, instead of receiving applause and commendations from Villeneuve, as he expected,

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he was severely reprimanded for his disobedience, and sent to prison, without being permitted to speak in his own behalf. At length he was degraded, and deprived of the cross and habit of his order; an indignity which he considered as more rigorous than death. The grand master, however, who was of a generous disposition, and a great admirer of valour, having thus asserted his authority, readily received him again, and conferred on him many signal favours. He even appointed Gozan his lieutenant-general, and properly concluded that a person who had displayed such extraordinary valour and prudent conduct for the safety of the island, could not fail of being serviceable against the enemies of Christianity.

Gozan afterwards got himself elected grand master, by a piece of boldness, which, perhaps, never succeeded with any other person. The chapter being much embarrassed and divided in regard to the election, the old members wishing for a grave religious man, and the young ones desiring a warrior who might lead them to gain and to glory; when it came to the turn of Gozan to give his vote, he expressed himself to the following effect: "On my entering this assembly, I took a solemn oath, that I would not propose any knight but such as I thought most worthy of this important office, and whom I believed to have the general good of the order at heart. After having seriously considered the present state of Christianity, and the continual wars which we are obliged to maintain against the infidels, and the firmness and vigour necessary to prevent a relaxation of discipline, I declare that I find no person more capable than myself, for

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undertaking this arduous office, and managing properly the affairs of our holy religion." Finding that all the knights observed silence, he began to enumerate his former exploits, recounting more especially the particularities of his conduct ever since he had been created lieutenant-general. He concluded his speech, by addressing the electors in these words: "You have already had a convincing proof of my government, and cannot but know what you may reasonably expect. I am, therefore, persuaded that, without doing me injustice, you cannot refuse me your votes." To hazard such a proposal in an assembly of rivals, was a very delicate matter, and required a pure conscience. Gozan, however, was unanimously elected, to the great joy of the youthful knights, who considered him as a hero; and he fulfilled the hopes which he had ventured to excite.

His bravery and prudence added vigour to the league which had been formed against the Turks. He procured the command of the fleet for the grand prior of Lombardy, a knight of great courage and experience, who surprised the Turkish armament near the small island of Embro, in the Archipelago. An action immediately ensued, in which the Christians took one hundred and twenty vessels, and five thousand slaves. This great victory was soon followed by another gained over the Saracens of Egypt. Gozan died at an advanced age, greatly regretted and esteemed for his many virtues.

Ferdinand de Heredia, the thirty-first grand master, who was elected through the interest of the pope, was also brave and valiant. In conjunction with the Venetians, he attacked the city

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of Patras in the Morea, from which the former had been expelled by the Turks. The place was vigorously defended; but the engines having effected a breach in the walls, Heredia entered sword in hand, and was followed by his knights. The grand master and the governor encountered each other; and the garrison were all put to the sword. The success of this enterprise induced Heredia to attempt the conquest of the whole peninsula. In reconnoitring, however, the scite and fortifications of Corinth, which was the next place intended to be attacked, he was unfortunately taken prisoner by a party of Turkish soldiers, who slew his attendants, and sent him prisoner to the grand seignior, without entertaining any suspicions of his being the grand master.

The three grand priors who had accompanied Heredia from Marseilles, were no sooner informed of this circumstance, than they offered to restore Patras to the Turks on condition of his being released. But the sultan, who, by means of some deserters, had become acquainted with the dignity of his prisoner, rejected the proposals with disdain, and observed that, as he was still possessed of the seat of Morea, he knew how to recover that city in less time than they had spent in its reduction. This mortifying refusal, added to the disgrace of leaving their grand master a prisoner in the hands of infidels, induced them to offer a considerable sum of money, besides the surrender of Patras, for his ransom, and to remain as hostages till it should be paid. The Turks agreed to this proposal; but when the three grand priors, with several knights, arrived at the castle of Corinth, where Heredia was con-

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fined, and told him, that they were come to set him at liberty, he said, "My dear brethren, leave an useless and superannuated old man, whose life, by the course of nature, can be of no long duration, to die in his chains; and do you, who are young and active, preserve yourselves for the service of religion." At length, when those who were permitted to speak, had endeavoured by their tears and intreaties to gain his consent, he replied, "If such a large sum must be paid for my ransom, let it not be taken from the treasury of the order; my family has been sufficiently enriched by my means, to shew towards me this mark of gratitude."

This was a noble lesson of magnanimity to the knights; and it might have been expected that the Turks would have been moved by such a singular instance of generosity. The only effect, however, it produced on the latter, was, that they condemned him to a more severe confinement, and sent him into a closer prison in Albania, where he was kept above three years; and, at length, was ransomed with the sums furnished by his family.

At the end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth century, the grand masters were frequently obliged to quit Rhodes, and to appear at the court of the popes, who interfered with almost every affair of the order. Their frequent absence caused a great relaxation of discipline in the island. The knights, also, were fond of these journeys; during which they could exempt themselves, without scandal, from the severity of their rules. They were well received by the Christian princes, and, on account of their experience, were frequently employed as arbiters

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in affairs of importance; and they likewise negociated for themselves.

The death of Gregory the eleventh was followed by a schism between Urban the sixth and Clement the seventh; which occasioned a division in the order, some adhering to the former, and others to the latter. Heredia, however, at the head of the whole convent, publicly declared in favour of Clement. This conduct gave umbrage to Urban, who deposed him from his office, and appointed one Richard Caracciola, grand prior of Capua, to the dignity. At this time, therefore, there were two grand masters in the order, as well as two pontiffs in the church; but most of the knights stedfastly adhered to Heredia.

During his imprisonment, great abuses had crept into the order. The commanders and priors had assumed a kind of independency, and constituted themselves judges of what portion of their responsions should be transmitted to the public treasury, without regarding the injunctions of the council. Many withheld even the whole of their revenues. The order was so much in arrear, that Heredia was obliged to make a journey to Avignon, the residence of pope Clement, and to request that pontiff to interpose his authority, and to compel the stewards to refund the wealth they had so unjustly withheld. Accordingly, three successive chapters were convened, in which the grand master presided, and represented, in the most pathetic manner, the danger to which the order and Christianity were exposed by those abuses, especially at a time when the emperor Bajazet seemed to threaten both Smyrna and Rhodes.

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These representations had the desired effect; many offered to attend him to Rhodes; and others engaged to remit the arrears due to the treasury.

During the government of Philibert de Naillac, the thirty-second grand master, Theodore Paleologus, despot of Morea, arrived at Rhodes, and offered to sell that peninsula to the order, who readily acceded to the proposal. By virtue of this agreement he was to deliver up to them Corinth, Sparta, and the other principal cities of the province. The grand master immediately appointed proper commissaries to take possession of those places, in the name of the knights of Rhodes. Accordingly, the magistracy and inhabitants of Corinth, not doubting but that, under the protection of so powerful and warlike an order, they should in a great measure be freed from the incursions and depredations of the Turks, received them with the greatest demonstrations of joy. But at Sparta, the Greek bishop investigated the citizens to such a degree, that they dispatched deputies to inform the commissaries they were resolved not to admit them into their city, and that, if they attempted to approach nearer, they should be considered as enemies. In consequence of this reluctancy of the inhabitants to submit to their government, the project was entirely abandoned. A. D. 1393.

The tranquillity which had for some time prevailed in the order and the church, was again disturbed by the successive attacks of the Turks, and of the Saracens in Egypt. The latter resolved on the conquest of Cyprus, then in strict alliance with Rhodes, and demanded that Janus,

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the monarch of that island, should become tributary to them. The grand master assisted that king with men and money; but the war terminated in the loss of a great number of Rhodian knights, the total defeat of the effeminate Cypriots, and the captivity of their sovereign, who was carried prisoner into Egypt.

Provoked at this conduct of the grand master, the Egyptian sultan was easily induced by his court to attempt the conquest of Rhodes, the success of which expedition, he was told, would facilitate the reduction of all the other islands of the Archipelago. He, therefore, appeared before Rhodes, with a fleet of eighteen gallies and a number of other vessels. The grand master hesitated not to offer battle to this armament; but they, struck with consternation and dismay, at the sight of so many ships under his command, retired into a creek to defend themselves from the enemy, and sailed homeward during the night.

The sultan, indignant at his ill success, prepared a more powerful fleet, and landed in Rhodes an army of eighty thousand men, who were the choicest of his forces. These troops immediately marched to the capital of the island, whilst the fleet blocked up the harbour, and prevented the arrival of any succours. The place was battered with a numerous train of artillery, and various attacks were made on the town; but the besiegers were always repulsed with great loss. The general having pursued his project till the greatest part of his army was destroyed, found himself obliged to raise the siege, and to re-embark the remains of his forces for Egypt.

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At length, Mohammed, the Turkish emperor, determined to attack Rhodes, and committed the conduct of the enterprize to Michael Paleologus, a Greek renegado of the imperial family, whom he had raised to the dignity of grand vizier. Accordingly, he sailed with one hundred and sixty large vessels, besides transports, in which were embarked an army of one hundred thousand men. These troops arriving on the coasts of the island, landed under the fire of their artillery. The renegado had every assistance necessary for so important an operation. The Turks having intrenched themselves, summoned the city to surrender; which being refused, the siege of the place commenced. Both sides, on this trying occasion, displayed the greatest fury and bravery. Neither the extraordinary courage of the knights, nor the many repulses which the Turks sustained, could induce the grand vizier, who dreaded the resentment of Mohammed more than the Rhodian arms, to relinquish the enterprize. A. D. 1480.

Despairing, however, of obtaining possession of the city, so long as the brave Peter d'Aubusson, the grand master, commanded, he sent two renegadoes as deserters, who promised to destroy him by poison, assassination, or some other means. These villains procured access into the palace, and would have accomplished their object, had not one of them been timely discovered, and, being put to the torture, confessed the whole design, and informed against his accomplice. This project having failed him, the grand vizier had recourse to another. He caused letters, which were filled with the most

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insolent threats and bravadoes, to be thrown into the city. Some of them extolled the power and clemency of the Turkish sultan; and represented the happiness that would result from exchanging the tyranny of the Rhodian order for the mildness of the Ottoman government; whilst others denounced immediate and inevitable destruction, if they refused the terms he so generously offered.

These letters being treated by the inhabitants with the contempt they deserved, his next stratagem was an embassy to the grand master. D'Aubusson, who wanted to gain time for repairing the breaches made in the walls by the enemy's artillery, converted the embassy into a conference, which he held with one of the principal officers of the Turkish army. In this interview, the Turk divested himself of the fierce and haughty air natural to his nation, and exhorted the grand master to capitulate, and not to suffer the valour of himself and his knights to expose them and a vast number of innocent inhabitants to the horrid and dreadful consequences of an assault. The grand master replied, that if the vizier thought proper to try the fortune of an attack, he would find the want of walls and bulwarks fully supplied. "The city," said the intrepid d'Aubusson, "is strong enough while defended by the knights, who have all one heart and one mind, directed to one single object, the defence of the faith, and the honour and glory of their order. Men who do not fear death, are stronger than walls and bastions."

This answer terminated the conference; but the refusal of the grand master to surrender

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the place, produced an ill effect on several of the order, who complained loudly of the obstinacy of d'Aubusson, and declared for an honourable capitulation. They had been moved to this by the picture drawn by the Turkish envoy, of the horrors committed in a town taken by assault; pillage, massacre, and the insults offered to wives and daughters. These cabals, which increased daily, being reported to the grand master, he sent for the disaffected knights to the palace, and, as if he had no longer considered them as brethren and members of the order, addressed them as follows: "Gentlemen, if any of you do not think yourselves sufficiently safe in this place, the gates are not so closely blockaded as to prevent me from finding means to facilitate your escape from the city." After a short pause, he added, with an air of authority and indignation, "But if you wish to remain here, let me hear no more of capitulating, on pain of suffering immediate death." These menacing words overwhelmed the knights with shame and confusion, and they knew not what to reply to the indignant grand master. At length recollecting themselves, they fell at his feet, expressed the greatest contrition for this emotion of weakness, and gave him the strongest assurances, that they would defend the place to the last extremity. They accordingly displayed on all occasions such bravery and intrepidity, that they seemed desirous of expiating by their blood the weakness of which they had been guilty. D'Aubusson set them an example, as he always appeared in the most dangerous post.

The vizier, highly indignant at the answer re-

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ceived from the grand master, denounced destruction against the whole order, and ordered a number of spikes to be fixed at the head of his camp, resolving to impale every one that fell into his hands. The fire of the artillery recommenced with still greater fury; an assault was made on different parts of the city, and in spite of the efforts of the order, the Turkish standard was placed on the ramparts. This circumstance produced a new kind of combat on the top of the walls. The grand master, at the head of his knights, again mounted the ladder with the half pikes in their hands. They encountered an obstinate opposition from the Turks; but, at length, were successful in forcing them to retire. These were succeeded by a resolute corps of Janissaries, whom the grand vizier had dispatched thither, with the promise of an ample reward, if they should kill d'Aubusson. They soon distinguished the grand master by his gilt armour, and attacking him, in spite of the knights by whom he was surrounded, wounded him in different parts of the body. Those of his order seeing him covered with blood, begged that he would retire to a place of safety; but he replied, that he was determined to die honourably for the cause of religion and of his people. This resolution inspired the knights with new vigour; they fell with redoubled fury on the Turks, cut in pieces all that opposed, and struck the rest with such consternation and dismay, that neither the threats nor the entreaties of the vizier could prevent them from a shameful flight. The Rhodians eagerly pursued them, and killed vast numbers. They were obliged to abandon

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their camp, and, being completely routed, retired to their ships in confusion. The grand vizier giving all up for lost, set sail for Constantinople.

In the beginning of this year happened a violent earthquake, which greatly endangered the city and island. The sea broke in, and overflowed a great part of Rhodes. Several other shocks were felt successively during the same month; but the most dreadful took place on the tenth of December, at midnight. Several churches, the grand palace, and many other public edifices were greatly injured; and the ground heaved and undulated in a terrifying manner. The Rhodians, who have a tradition that their island arose out of the sea, imagined that it was about to sink into it again. The grand master, taking advantage of the general consternation, reformed several great enormities, which existed in the order. A. D. 1481.

Whilst d'Aubusson was thus employed, he received a message from Zizim, the late emperor Mahommed's son, whom his brother Bajazet had defeated. This prince implored the aid and protection of the order, and begged an asylum from the grand master. His request was readily granted, and he was received with all the marks of honour due to his rank. Soon after a minister arrived from Achmed, the favourite vizier and general of Bajazet, to propose a negociation of peace with his master, with offers of his mediation, if d'Aubusson would send an embassy to Constantinople. It was easy to perceive by these artful proceedings, that Bajazet wished to have his rival dispatched by poison or the sword. D'Aubusson, therefore,

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dismissed this authorized assassin, and answered that he was ready to accept the offer made him, provided the emperor demanded neither vassalage nor tribute. Accordingly, he dispatched two of his principal knights to Bajazet, who received them with every mark of distinction, and appointed Achmed and Michael Palœologus to negociate the peace. By the treaty which they concluded, the grand master engaged to retain Zizim in his power, under a sufficient guard of his knights; and that he should not deliver him up to any other prince, who might take occasion to disturb the government of the sultan. In consideration of this service, the Ottoman monarch agreed to pay thirty-five thousand ducats annually into the treasury of the knights, for the maintenance of the prince, and ten thousand ducats a year to the grand master, for the damages occasioned by the Turkish forces in the island of Rhodes.

This treaty sullied the reputation of d'Aubusson. The unfortunate Zizim complained loudly that this base contract was in open violation of the safety which the grand master had promised him. Many took occasion to throw severe reflections on d'Aubusson, for having sold the liberty of a prince who had put himself under his protection, and, for the sake of an inconsiderable tribute, engaged to become the gaoler of Zizim, in favour of a tyrant, and an irreconcileable enemy of Christianity. Pope Innocent the eighth, however, was so far from censuring this politic conduct of the grand master, that he made pressing overtures that his nuncio should take upon him the custody of the unfortunate prince; and represented that if he had Zizim in his power,

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he could speedily terminate the wars that raged between Christian princes, by uniting them in a league against Bajazet. D'Aubusson made several just and strong objections to this proposal; but finding the pontiff resolute and inflexible, he at length sent two of his principal knights to treat with his holiness about this matter, and to obtain for himself and his order the most advantageous terms.

The pope agreed, if his demand should be complied with, and Zizim delivered into his hands, that in case Bajazet should withhold the payment of the yearly sum stipulated for the maintenance of the prince, on account of this treaty, he would supply the deficiency by suppressing the two orders of St. Lazarus and St. Sepulchre, and bestowing their revenue on the knights of Rhodes. Nor in this contract was the interest of the grand master forgotten: on the delivery of Zizim by his plenipotentiaries, d'Aubusson was to be created cardinal, and the nuncio of his holiness in the east; dignities which, however unfit for a secular sovereign, and still less proper for the chief of a military order, were, nevertheless, actually conferred.

Thus was the unfortunate prince bought and sold by those persons from whom he expected to receive kindness and protection. But this perfidy did not equal the treacherous and inhuman treatment, which Zizim received from Innocent's immediate successor, Alexander the sixth, who, a few years after, caused him to be closely confined in the prison of St. Angelo, and for the sum of three hundred thousand ducats, that Bajazet engaged to pay him, ordered the prince to be privately poisoned. Thus was the

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grand master originally the author of the death of the unfortunate Zizim.

Notwithstanding the brave defence of d'Aubusson, the Turks still desired to obtain possession of Rhodes. Soliman, the present emperor, having made himself master of Belgrade, resolved to follow the plan of his late father Selim, and to attack that island. He therefore made the necessary preparations for a siege, and appointed the several officers who were to command it; but before he proceeded to extremities, he sent friendly invitations to the order. In the mean time, the knights, at the head of whom was Villiers de l'Isle Adam, the forty-second grand master, elected in 1520, employed themselves in preparing to repel the intended invasion. At length, Soliman sent the order a declaration of war to the following effect: "The continual ravages which you commit against our faithful subjects, and the injury and indignity thereby offered to our imperial majesty, oblige us to send our express commands, that you immediately deliver up to us the island and fortress of Rhodes. If you shall readily consent to perform the same, I swear by the omnipotent Creator of heaven and earth, and the great prophet Mahomet, that every kind of favour and good treatment shall be shewn you. But if you delay to obey these orders, you shall all feel the vengeance of our formidable sword; and the towers, bastions, and edifices of the island of Rhodes, be levelled with the grass which grows at the bottom of these fortifications."

This declaration was soon followed by a large and powerful fleet. The army consisted of two hundred thousand men, and was commanded

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by a young officer named Pyrrhus. The Turks landed without opposition, and immediately invested the city. The trenches were opened, and the enemy raised a strong battery, which was soon dismounted by the fire of the besieged. This advantage was followed by frequent sallies, in which great numbers of the Turks suffered. The same efforts and opposition were daily repeated, and the janissaries experienced such a superiority of skill and bravery, that they complained they had been brought thither to be slaughtered. These murmurs produced a general mutiny among the soldiers, and a singular contempt for their commander, who apprised the sultan of these circumstances, and assured him that his immediate presence was necessary to prevent a general defection.

This disagreeable intelligence determined Soliman to sail to Rhodes, and command the siege in person. Having, therefore, reached the camp at the head of fifteen thousand of his best troops, who had accompanied him from Lycia, he ordered the whole army to appear before him without arms or accoutrements. He then caused them to be surrounded by his escart, whilst he stood on an imperial throne, from whence he might be seen and heard by every soldier; and whilst his countenance darted indignation against the offenders, he harangued them in the most opprobrious and menacing manner, and concluded his speech with threatening them with exemplary punishment. On a preconcerted signal, the fifteen thousand armed men drew their sabres, and held them suspended over the heads of the culprits, as if they designed to put them to death. All the generals immediately approached the

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throne with the most abject humility, and interceded for them; while they all fell on their faces, and begged for mercy. The sultan, who only wished to reduce them to duty, suffered himself to be appeased. "In compliance with your intreaties," said he to the generals, "I shall suspend punishing the guilty, but let them seek pardon on the bastions and bulwarks of the enemy." This declaration had an instantaneous effect: the assault which took place after this scene was terrible, and was followed by others no less murderous.

The siege was renewed with redoubled vigour, and the knights made incredible efforts to defend the place. Soliman perceiving that the city was covered with fortifications, which commanded all his batteries, ordered an immense quantity of stones and earth to be collected, and mounds to be raised, from whence they might keep up a constant fire of artillery. The besieged, however, who discovered in what manner they planted their batteries, demolished them with their cannon. Towers were frequently destroyed, breaches effected, and assaults made; but the Turks were always repulsed. In short, Soliman, in all probability, would not have been more successful than his predecessor Mahomet, had he not found a traitor in the town, and even in the council, who gave him information of every thing that passed, and made him acquainted with the measures he ought to pursue. This member of the order was stimulated to commit such an act of perfidy, by motives of jealousy and revenge for not having been elected grand master. He was, indeed, detected and punished with death; but having been entrusted with

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the care of procuring provisions and ammunition, the town, by his malicious treachery, was found to be destitute of these necessaries, which hastened its surrender.

The terms of capitulation, which were as favourable as could be expected by a city reduced to the last extremity, were scarcely concluded and ratified, before a numerous fleet was perceived sailing towards the island, which it was supposed came from Europe. It proved, however, to be a Turkish armament, with a fresh reinforcement of troops, sent from Persia to relieve those who were worn out with the fatigues of so long and bloody a siege. Had they arrived sooner, it is probable the sultan would not have granted them so favourable a capitulation, though he continued faithfully to observe it. Soliman gave the grand master several marks of his esteem and respect, and assured him, that it was not without reluctance he compelled so brave a Christian at his years to abandon his habitation.

Villiers, though oppressed with grief, did not fail to provide for the safety of those who quitted the island. He gave orders for the embarkation of his people, which was effected in the night. Besides the knights, more than four thousand of the inhabitants followed the fortune of the order, all of whom the grand master saw safely on board, before he left the shore. They set sail for Candia, where having arrived, after suffering a most violent storm, they proceeded towards Italy, and, at length, arrived at Messina. When their landing was announced, they were immediately surrounded with all the nobility and principal officers of the city, who went out of the

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place to meet them. Instead of the religious flag which they had hitherto used, they hoisted a banner on which was represented the blessed Virgin with her dead son in her arms, and this inscription: *Afflictis spes ultima rebus*—the last consolation in adversity. The people seemed to sympathize with the venerable leader, no less admirable for his fortitude under misfortunes, than for the glory which he had acquired by the noble defence of Rhodes. The viceroy offered him, in the name of the emperor Charles the fifth, the town and harbour of Messina, as a place of shelter and retreat.

In the midst of gloomy silence he was conducted to the palace, while regret, for being obliged to deliver into the hands of the enemies of Christianity an island, in which his predecessors had reigned with so much glory, was exhibited in his words, actions, and even looks; but he did not suffer his grief to lessen his authority and circumspection. He provided every assistance and accommodation for the sick and wounded, on whom he bestowed the utmost care and attention. When his followers were a little recovered, he again set sail, and proceeded to the gulph of Baia, where he disembarked, and went to see what hopes would be afforded him by the pope. Adrian the sixth received him with all the marks of honour and esteem, which his merit and dignity deserved. Having given him all the praise due to his conduct and bravery, he assured him, that nothing should be wanting on his part to preserve an order so useful and advantageous to the welfare of Christianity.

Adrian, however, dying, was succeeded by Julius de Medicis, a knight of their order, to the

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no small joy of the grand-master and his people, who could more safely depend on his assistance and friendship, than on the fair promises of his predecessor. They were not disappointed in their expectations, for never did a pontiff testify more zeal or esteem for the knights. The first service he rendered the order was by a bull which forbade the members to separate, and by these means he prevented its dissolution, which would otherwise have been inevitable. It was agreed that the order should take up their abode at Viterbo, a place in the ecclesiastical states, till a more convenient situation could be found; whilst their gallies and other vessels should remain at Civitta Vecchia. The pope and grand master held frequent conferences, relative to the most proper place for the future settlement of the order, and, in the end, the island of Malta was considered as the strongest and most convenient for the purpose. Ambassadors were, therefore, sent to the emperor Charles the fifth, then at Madrid, to whom as king of Sicily it belonged. They requested that prince, in the name of all the knights, to make them a grant of Malta and Goza, free from all subjection except to their grand master and sovereign. That they might the better succeed, they represented to the emperor, that such a generous gift would be the means of rendering him esteemed as the second founder of an order, which had proved, during several centuries, the most effectual bulwark of Christianity; and that the knights thereby would be able to suppress the Mahometan corsairs, and secure his dominions in Sicily, Sardinia, Naples, and Italy, from their outrages and incursions. But to these proposals Charles refused to assent,

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unless they would include the burthensome condition of undertaking the defence of the city of Tripoli, which required a strong garrison and great expence. After many negociations, in which the disinterestedness of that prince does not appear to much advantage, Villiers de l'Isle Adam, not being able to do any thing better, accepted the terms of the emperor.

In 1530, the grand master and his knights set sail for the island, of which they took possession, and from which the order assumed a new denomination, being ever since known by the name of the knights of Malta. As the island possessed no other fortification than the castle of Saint Angelo, and was exposed on all sides to an invading enemy, Villiers de l'Isle Adam employed himself in putting it in a state of defence, and erected a strong wall to prevent any surprise from the Turkish or Barbary corsairs. He died in the seventieth year of his age, and the fourteenth of his grand mastership. In justice to his great merit, the following epitaph was inscribed on his tomb: "Here lies virtue, victorious over fortune."

The fortifications which had been erected by l'Isle Adam in the new residence of the order, served to defeat a second enterprize of sultan Soliman. That prince being incensed to find that these pretended pirates, of whom he wished to clear the neighbouring seas by taking Rhodes, still continued to infest them, he commanded Sinan Bassa to attempt the reduction of the islands of Malta and Goza, if he found it practicable; and if not, to sail to Tripoli, and lay siege to that place. He was moreover enjoined to consult Dragut, who knew the coasts and their fortresses.

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Though the grand master had been informed of the preparation and destination of this armament, he doubted the authenticity of the intelligence, till he beheld the fleet from his own window advancing towards Malta. But when Sinan had landed, and surveyed attentively the situation and strength of Saint Angelo, he said to the corsair Dragut, who pressed him to begin an attack, "Is that the castle which thou representest as a place easily to be reduced? The eagle certainly could not place its nest on the summit of a steeper rock; and to reach it, we ought to have wings like that bird, for all the troops of the world would not be able to take it by force."

Not daring, however, to oppose Dragut's advice too much, with much difficulty he consented to the siege; and, in the mean time, the Turks having dispersed themselves over the island, plundered and desolated the whole country. Having continued for some time before the place, without any prospect of its capitulating, and a rumour prevailing in the Turkish camp, that a powerful armament had sailed from Europe for the purpose of assisting Malta, the besiegers were induced to retire.

The Maltese having taken a rich Turkish vessel, the capture was much spoken of at Constantinople, and the mufti complained that the gallies of the knights greatly obstructed the devotions of the faithful, and the pilgrimages to the prophet's tomb; and that their island abounded with Turkish slaves, who suffered under the most severe and galling servitude. In consequence of these complaints, Soliman was induced to make against the order the last im-

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A. D. 1565. portant attack which it experienced from the forces of the grand seignior. John de la Valette, the forty-seventh grand master, was at that time at the head of the order; and on being informed that a severe contest had taken place in the breach, and that many of the knights had fallen, he immediately headed a fresh detachment, and exposed himself the foremost in the battle. Being surrounded by many of the order, who conjured him in the most moving terms, not to hazard his life in that manner, since his death would occasion the loss of the island and the destruction of its inhabitants, he refused to listen to their intreaties, and replied, "At the age of seventy-one, can I finish my course more honourably than by dying for my brethren?" The Turks were repulsed with the greatest bravery, and withdrew, never more to appear on that land, which had been drenched with their blood.

On the principal emplacement, the theatre of his glory, the grand master erected a town, which, after his own name, he called La Valette. The convent and habitation of the knights were removed thither. The grand master himself, attended by his engineers, visited and directed the work daily; and when the great number of workmen had so exhausted the public treasury, that he found it difficult to pay them with the usual regularity, he caused a new copper coin, of different weight and value, to be made current. The inscription on it was, *Non æs, sed fides*; it is not the metal, but confidence. This money passed in the island, and was recalled whenever remittances arrived from home; by which means the work was never interrupted.

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The Maltese concluded a truce with the Turks for twenty years, subject to renewal after that time if the parties should think proper. Whilst it continued, the former were to enjoy in the dominions of the grand seignior the same privileges as the French. They stipulated also for a reciprocal exchange of prisoners; and that if the captives of either of them were more numerous than the other, they should be redeemed at the rate of one hundred piastres each. The sultan agreed that the Barbary states should be excluded from participating in this treaty, and that the Porte should not assist them against the Maltese. Lastly, the contract was to become null and void, when any of the Christian princes were at war with the Turks. A. D. 1724.

On the ninth of June, a powerful French armament, on its way to Egypt, arrived off the island of Malta, under the command of General Bonaparte, who demanded leave to water the fleet. Apprehensive, however, of admitting so formidable a force, the grand master refused, and the French commander immediately prepared to attack the place. On the following day the troops landed, under a heavy fire from the forts. The island of Goza was taken by a single detachment, and the southern parts of Malta were reduced by another. The bulk of the inhabitants sought refuge in the garrison; while the French prepared to press the siege with effect. A. D. 1798.

The resistance made by the Maltese was extremely feeble; and some of the knights, particularly those of the French language, were suspected of treachery. The garrison attempted a sortie, which was repulsed by the French, and

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the standard of the order of Malta fell into the hands of the victors. On the eleventh, the grand master proposed a capitulation, which was acceded to; by which the whole of the island and all its dependencies were surrendered to the Republic of France. The victorious general, leaving a garrison of about four thousand men in the place, embarked the rest of his troops, and departed on the ultimate object of his expedition. After the decisive battle of Aboukir, Malta having been kept in a state of blocadé, till the provisions of the garrisons were almost wholly expended, the French were obliged, in their turn, to surrender to the arms of Great Britain. It was stipulated, however, on concluding the terms of peace in 1801, that this island should be restored to the knights of the order of St. John of Jerusalem, under the guarantee of Russia; for its possession, as being the key of the Mediterranean, was of so much consequence to the belligerent powers, and so much the object of their jealousy, that their mutual security rendered it necessary to guard against the intrigues of either, by placing the power in strong and independent hands.

END OF THE FOURTEENTH VOLUME OR THE FIFTH OF THE MODERN PART.

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